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Punjab Government

REPRINT

OF

SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS

OF THE

PUNJAB ADMINISTRATION.

OLD SERIES.—NO. XVI.

MINUTE ON INFANTICIDE IN THE PUNJAB,

BY R. MONTGOMERY, ESQ.,

Judicial Commissioner in the Punjab.

1.—On the 24th November 1851 Major Lake, the Deputy Commissioner of Goordaspoor, brought to the notice of the Commissioner of the Lahore division the prevalence of Infanticide among the Bedees at Dera Bábá Nánuk, in his district. He proposed various measures for the suppression of the crime, and Mr. Barnes forwarded the report to the late Board of Administration, modifying, to a certain extent, Major Lake's proposals.

2.—The information that was furnished not being considered sufficiently full to enable the Board to adopt any general measures, the Commissioner was called on for a further report, and a circular was sent to all the Commissioners throughout the Punjab directing them to ascertain whether the crime of Inf... their divisions, and if so, to what ... district, the pracevailed in ... they thought most lik...ur and Mulotur divisions of what measures lasses, ... following Mussulman tribes :— the practice.

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statement of the facts elicited from the reports, and then to suggest the measures which appear to me most likely to put an end to the crime.

5.—The delay which has taken place is not altogether to be regretted. It has enabled the district officers to investigate the subject more thoroughly, and within the last twelve months the publication of the Mynpooree proceedings has excited a greater interest in the subject throughout the country generally. In the Jullundhur Doáb a movement similar to that at Mynpooree has taken place with most gratifying results, and the whole subject has received a fresh impulse since the appointment of Mr. C. Raikes, the originator of the grand movement, to be Commissioner of the Lahore division. In devising measures for the suppression of the practice I am fortunate in having the aid and counsel of that able officer.

6.—The reports are generally very full. Pre-eminent among them stands that of Major H. B Edwardes, the late Deputy Commissioner of Julundhur; that of Mr. E. C. Bayley, the Deputy Commissioner of Kángra, shews much research; and Major Abbott, the Deputy Commissioner ofIoosheearpur, has entered on the subject with energy and zeal.

7.—The returns shew that Infanticide prevails in the Punjab chiefly among the Bedees, or descendants of Gooroo Nánuk, the founder of the Sikh faith, and among the highest classes of the Rajpoot tribes. It is practised also in some parts of the Punjab by certain classes of the *Khetree* tribe; also throughout the Mooltan division, and in Khangur, of the Leia division, by some of the Mahomedans.

8.—The following abstract will shew in detail the classes and the localities infected by the presence of this dreadful crime:—

Cis-Sutlej States.

9.—Infanticide prevails among the Rajpoots who inhabit the North-West parts of the Umbala district, in the Tehseeldaree division of Roopur and Kharar, also in some of the Rajpoot villages of Thanesur and Kaeethul. The Burars of the Feerozpore district, who inhabit pergunnas Maree, Fureed-kot, and Kot-kapoora, likewise the Dogurs on the banks of the Sutlej, practise it. There are but few Bedee families, and they are scattered; but they all follow the custom.

Julundhur Division.

10.—In the Julundhur and Hooshearpoor districts it has been heretofore practised by all the Bedees. In the latter, as also in Kángra, it is, with few exceptions, followed by the Rajpoot tribes.

Lahore Division.

11.—The Bedees all practise it. Dera Bábá Nánuk is their stronghold. The Khutrees of the Goojránwála (late Sheikhoo-poora) district practise it to a limited extent, as also certain Mussulmans of the tribe Rat.

12.—The higher class of Rajpoots, connected with the royal Rajpoots of the hills, also follow it. They principally reside in pergunnas Deenanugur and Shukurghur of the Gooordaspoor district, and in pergunna Seealkote of the Seealkote district. The Munhas tribe of Rajpoots are those who most practise it; also those of the tribe Saleria, Jumoowal, and Charuk Rajpoots.

Mooltan Division.

13.—The Khutrees are said to practise it, and also some Brahmins. The Khutrees who chiefly commit Infanticide in the Jhung district are those of the Khuna and Kupoo tribes; also those of the Urhaeghur branch of the Mahrotra tribe. The Mahomedans of the Bhurwana and Kumalana clans of Seeals, considered to be of imperial rank, follow the custom. In the Gogaira district it prevails among Hindoos of the following classes:—

Khutrees. { Bedees—Dhoun—Vij.
Handee—Khuna—Kupoor.
Chopra. }

Ootradee of the Arora caste; and among the Mahomedan tribes as follows:—

Vutoo, Futeana, Kateea, Khuruls, Biloches, Jogeea, Doodhee, Kuth and Awan. It likewise appears to be practised by the Mussulmans of the royal blood of the Soodoozaee and Khoduka Patans.

Jelum Division.

14.—In the Rawul Pindee district the Bedees universally follow the practice of Infanticide. In the Goojrat district the Rajpoots inhabiting the Northern pergunnas under the hills follow it, particularly those of the tribes known as Bhao, Dhib, Ratch and Munhas.

15.—In the Shapoor district, the practice is followed by Bedees, Sodhee, Urhaeghur and Mulotur divisions of the Khutree classes, and by the following Mussulman tribes:—

Bhutee, Khurul, Nuswanah, Gongul, Salee, Geloter and Jahrur.

But the Gondul class practise it most extensively on account of the great expense attending the marriages in this tribe, which custom has descended to the present generation.

Leia Division.

16.—Infanticide does not prevail in the Derah Ismael Khan and Leia districts, and to a very limited extent in that of Dera Ghazee Khan,—and then only among the Khutrees of the Gosain sects.

17.—In the Khángbur district, formerly included in Mooltan, which it adjoins, Infanticide is largely practised among the higher classes of Khutrees, *viz.*, the Kuna, Mahrota, Kupoor, Khedana, and Set-kukur classes.

Peshawur Division.

18.—Infanticide does not prevail either in the Peshawur district or in Hazara.

19.—The above summary shows that Infanticide is very prevalent in the Punjab.

20.—The practice amongst the Rajpoots is of extreme antiquity, and arose from combined motives of pride and poverty. The Bedees are actuated by pride alone, as they are generally opulent and live in affluence.

21.—Amongst Hindoos an idea prevails that the bestowal of a female in marriage betokens inferiority; their sons may marry their equals or inferiors, but custom prescribes that their daughters should marry only their equals or their superiors; also that a female cannot remain unmarried without bringing disgrace on her family. It is considered, therefore, to be imperative on a parent to provide betimes a suitable husband for his daughter, and by delaying to do so he is thought to be disgracing her.

22.—It follows then, in the case of the Rajpoots, that as we ascend the scale of society (I quote from Mr. Barnes's report) "we must eventually reach those who stand on the highest round of the ladder and admit no superior; these classes find themselves in an awkward dilemma,—either they must bring up their daughters unmarried or they must provide husbands for them and thereby confess that they are not the high and exclusive race to which they lay claim. Either alternative is attended with disgrace, and there is but one remedy, *viz.*, to destroy their female infants—and hence we see the farce of conventional rules. Murder may be committed without any stigma attaching to the murderer, but artificial restraints cannot be avoided without loss of caste and honor."

23.—The principal Rajpoots belong to the royal families in the hills, and among them the crime prevails. They inhabit the country between the Sutlej and the Chenab. Originally there were twenty-two principalities—eleven on the left bank and eleven on the right bank of the Ravee. The group on the left bank is generally known as the Jullundhur circle, of which Kangra is the acknowledged chief; Jummoo is considered paramount among the dominions across the Ravee.

24.—Many of these classes proceed from one stock, and inter-marriage is prohibited on account of their consanguinity, and, notwithstanding the lapse of many centuries, they still consider themselves as blood-relations.

25.—Among the hill tribes the Jummoo and Kutoch (Kangra) clans rank first, and yet Infanticide is not confined to them. The other classes also have high pretensions, and as they are precluded from inter-marriage with their tribe by consanguinity so they refuse to risk their claim to superiority by giving their daughters to a rival clan.

26.—In like manner the Rajpoot clans in the plains practise Infanticide. They are found principally in the country lying under the hills between pergunna Deenanugur of the Goordaspoor district and pergunna Kuriahwalee of the Goojrat district. The chief of them is the Munhas tribe; they are only another branch of the Jammoowal family.

27.—The Hill Munhas Rajpoots, being generally considered of an inferior station to the royal class, have no difficulty in disposing of their female offspring in marriage; for they readily acknowledge their inferiority to those tribes who are directly connected with royalty.

28.—In the plains, however, the position of the Munhas Rajpoot is materially altered. He is at the head, instead of at the bottom, of the Rajpoots, and practises Infanticide to attest and maintain his superiority. In the same manner other tribes with less pretensions to such exclusiveness follow the unnatural custom in order to be estimated of pure descent. But these are imitations which the true Rajpoot would ridicule.

29.—In our endeavours to suppress the crime we shall find our chief difficulty in the hills, where, Mr. Barnes states, "pride is more tenacious, because more legitimate."

30.—But in addition to pride the lavish expenditure at marriages is another pre-disposing cause to the crime. All the reports are unanimous on this point. The higher the rank the greater need there is for extravagance. Even if successful in procuring alliances, and determined in their hearts to abandon the practice, these are unable to give a dowry worthy of their lineage, and this gives an impetus to the custom of dooming their daughters to destruction. They are no longer required as formerly in the higher grades of the army, and they will only enlist to a limited extent as common soldiers; nor will they handle the plough; this would be contrary to their ideas; they are in comparative destitution; and the sacrifice of the daughters is alike dictated by their position and their poverty.

31.—The Bedees, wherever found, commit infanticide; they belong to the Khutree family. But the Khutrees, except in parts of the Mooltan division, in Khanghur, and in a portion of the Goojranwala district, do not, it is supposed, generally commit the crime.

32.—Major Lake attributes the practice among the Bedees to the unwillingness of the Khutrees* to espouse the descendants of their revered prophet, or Gooroo Nanuk; but this does not appear to be borne out by the investigations that have since been made.

* The Bedees originally sprang from the Khutree tribe.

33.—It appears to have arisen from their priestly pride. Both Major Abbott and Major Edwardes give much the same account of the

origin of Infanticide as it has been handed down by tradition. I quote an extract from Major Edwardes' report :—

"The practice was first enjoined on their tribe by Dhurm Chund Bedee, grandson of Baba Nanuk. He had two sons, named Mehr Chund and Manik Chund, and one girl, who, at the proper age, was espoused to the son of a Khutree, as was then the custom of the Bedees. When the bridegroom's procession reached the house of Dhurm Chund the door was found too narrow to admit the litter on which the boy was carried, and the riotous attendants, with more than the usual licence of the occasion, proceeded to widen it by force. The incensed Bedee prayed 'that the threshold of the Khutree tribe might, in like manner, come to ruin,' and the nuptial rites were celebrated amidst mutual ill-feeling. When the bridegroom and his party were departing the two sons of Dhurm Chund, as in duty bound, accompanied them to give them 'Rooksut.' The weather was hot, the party out of temper, and they took a malicious pleasure in taking the young Bedees further than etiquette required. When the lads returned home foot-sore, Dhurm Chund asked,—'If the Khutrees had not bid them turn back sooner?' The boys said—'No,' and it was then that the old man, indignant at all the insults which the bridal of his daughter had drawn down upon him from an inferior class, laid the inhuman injunction on his descendants that 'in future no Bedee should let a daughter live.' The boys were horror-stricken at such an unnatural law, and with clasped hands represented to their father that to take the life of a child was one of the greatest sins in the Shasters. But Dhurm Chund replied—'That if the Bedees remained true to their faith, and abstained from lies and strong drink, Providence would reward them with none but male children. But at any rate let the burden of the crime be upon *his* neck, and no one else's, and from that time forth Dhurm Chund's head fell forward upon his chest, and he evermore walked like one who bore an awful weight upon his shoulders."

34.—With consciences thus relieved, the race of Bedees continued for 300 years to murder their infant daughters; and if any Bedee, out of natural feeling, preserved a girl, he was excommunicated by the rest and treated as a common sweeper.

35.—But a great revolution has taken place amongst the Bedees since the accession of the British Government. "Their priestly pride," writes Mr. McLeod, "has been greatly humbled; their occupation is nearly gone; their sources of revenue rapidly wasting away; so that nothing remains to support them against the condemnation of their fellows." And again :—"I feel convinced that the conviction is very general amongst them, that their present depressed condition has been the result of the disfavor of the Almighty, chiefly brought upon them by the adoption of this very practice."

36.—The other classes who follow it openly do so driven to it by their inability to meet the heavy marriage expenses.

37.—Though the practice is acknowledged only by the tribes and classes that have been enumerated, yet I am led to believe that the crime prevails to a greater or less extent amongst all classes; the great disproportion of female to male children, as a general rule, is very striking. In the Kángra district Mr. Bayley, who has paid much attention to the subject, finds that the ratio of female to male children is as 87 to 100. In four pergunnas of the Hoshiarpore district, where the census appears to have been carefully taken by Mr. Melvill, the Settlement Officer, the proportion is even less, *viz.*, of the Hindu population, 77 girls to 100 boys, and of the Mahomedans, 82 to 100.

38.—It is unlikely that the murder of female children should have been carried on for so many centuries without having, to a certain degree, infected all classes. Pride drove the Rajpoots and Bedees to commit the crime: poverty drove others. Either, as Major Edwardes writes, the fathers' fortunes or daughters' lives must be sacrificed. The choice lying with the fathers, they chose Infanticide in preference to beggary or wounded vanity.

39.—During Hindu ascendancy, when Infanticide was considered no crime, the child was destroyed immediately after birth by filling the mouth with cow-dung, or by immersing the head in cow's milk, or by drawing the umbilical cord over the face; all of these means were calculated to prevent respiration and cause immediate death. In the Goojrat district, the practice is to bury the infant alive. The body is placed in an earthen pot, the top of which is covered with a thick paste of dough. Frequently a small pill of opium is administered, which causes death in a few hours. In the Khanghur district the juice of the Madar plant (*Asclepias gigantea*) is administered, or death is brought about by causing injury to the navel.

40.—Since the accession of the British the unnatural parents, fearing detection, use no means likely to lead to conviction. The infants are either allowed to die from neglect, from inadequate food, or exposure, or, the mother's nipples being rubbed with opium, the infant unconsciously imbibes poison with the milk that should invigorate life.

41.—I extract from Major Edwardes' report the vividly-pourtrayed account of a birth in a Bedee family. It is difficult to imagine how the parents could stifle the yearnings of nature so as to carry out the murderous injunctions of their early teachers:—

"When a Bedee mother was delivered of a child the nurse communicated to the family outside the purda whether it was a boy or a girl. If a son, great were the congratulations; but if a daughter the mother turned her face to the wall, well knowing the sentence that awaited her off-spring, and the silence of disappointment was soon broken by the elder matrons of the family commanding the nurse to put the child to death. Various were the ways in which this order was executed;—sometimes the nurse stopped the infant's breath in a few

moments with her hand, but oftener the object was effected by neglect, by exposing the babe in winter on the cold floor, and in summer by aggravating heat; and, as one of my informants remarked—You see, Sir, they are but poor little things, and a puff of wind puts them out."

42.—It is commonly believed among the people that on these occasions the Bedees go even a step further in brutality, burying the corpse with a piece of "goor" between the lips and a twist of cotton in the hand, and reciting over it this couplet:—

"Goor khaien, pownee kutteen,
Ap na aieen: bhaya ghulleen,

i. e., "Eat your goor and spin your thread,
But go and send a boy instead".

43.—To this system of wholesale murder there have been a few honorable exceptions. Major Edwardes, in para. 14 of his Report, states the case of one Punjab Sing, Bedee of Mokundpoor, who declared that the Grunth (Sikh holy scripture) had no authority for the custom; he preserved his daughter and gave her in marriage. For this he was excommunicated by Baba Bikrama Sing, the head of the Bedees, and all but his own family treated him as a sweeper, throwing to him from a distance money or anything else they had occasion to give him. This was previous to the British rule.

44.—Major Marsden, in his report of the Gugaira district, mentions the case of a female child being alive in the family of Baba Sumpoorun Sing, a Bedee of note and eminence. He is a lineal descendant of the founder of the sect, Baba Nanuk, and cousin of the above Bedee Bikrama Sing, and it is said he preserved the child at the representation of Lord Hardinge when in the Punjab in 1846.

45.—When the Julundhur Doab was ceded to the British the practice of Infanticide was denounced by the Commissioner, Mr. J. Lawrence, and the inhabitants were threatened with the severest penalties if they continued the practice.

46.—In the Cis-Sutlej States the British officers, who have for the last 40 years exercised indirect control over the sovereign chiefs, used all their influence to discourage Infanticide, and in those districts under the British Government issued repeated proclamations expressive of their abhorrence of the crime.

47.—Since the annexation of the Punjab I do not find that any proclamation denouncing the practice has been issued, but the inhabitants generally are well aware that we consider it a crime and punishable as such. Several parties have been taken up charged with the crime of Infanticide, but released for want of proof.

48.—The denunciation of the crime in the Julundhur and Cis-Sutlej States has had a wonderful effect in checking Infanticide. As respects the Bedees in Julundhur, Mr. McLeod states that there has been amongst them a most remarkable and highly gratifying reac-

tion:—"The strenuous denunciations and warnings and threats of my predecessor on this point evidently produced a most powerful effect upon their minds, and the consequence has been that the preservation of female children has been almost universal; and, although there are still undoubtedly some who endeavour to adhere to their former usage in this respect, this is done with the utmost secrecy, and is strongly discountenanced by all the most respectable amongst their number."

49.—In a census by Major Edwardes of the Bedees in purgunna Rahon, in 1852, out of a total of 70* births 33 boys and 16 girls were alive, and this, though still showing the existence of the crime, proves that a great check has been placed on it.

* 38 boys, 32 girls.

50.—Again, at Baba Dera Nanuk, in the Goordaspur district, Lord W. Hay shows, by a return lately made, that there are 61 female and 450 male Bedee children, the former *all under the age of* 4 *years*, the period which has elapsed since annexation, demonstrating clearly the influence of our Government and the fear of our laws without even any direct endeavour having been made to suppress the practice.

51.—All our officers unite in saying that since the annexation the crime has greatly decreased,—some say entirely stopped; but this evidently is not the case.

52.—Undoubtedly there is a great movement amongst the classes who practise it, especially amongst Bedees, and the most earnest feeling exists on the subject. Mr. McLeod writes that he is convinced of this by their familiarity with the number of females born and preserved in the different families, the pride in their little girls now evinced by them, and above all the anxiety to have arrangements made for their future marriages, to which their kindred Khutrees have assented on the express condition that the practice of Infanticide be abandoned.

53.—The assent of the Bhoonjaee class of Khutrees to inter-marriages with the Bedees was obtained at a meeting at Julundhur on the 4th April, which, though planned by Major Edwardes, did not take place till after his departure for Hazára. It was presided over by Mr. McLeod, and all the details conducted most successfully by Captain Farrington, Major Edwardes' successor, who is entitled to much credit for his exertions. A full report of the meeting, which lasted for three days, and at which there was much discussion, and the resolutions thereat, form Appendix A. of this minute. There is also appended to it a series of resolutions passed by all denominations of the Hindu and Mahomedan inhabitants of pergunnas Nowashuhur and Julundhur, in which they unanimously agreed to reduce the expenses attending marriages to a fixed scale. To these resolutions, adopted last year in Major Edwardes' time, the Bedees have given in their adherence.

54.—A deputation from Dera Bába Nánuk attended the meeting, and the Rája of Kapoortulla, in whose State many of the Chief Bedees reside, attended it, and gave all the aid of his powerful influence to the suppression of the practice.

With Mr. McLeod's permission I annex a letter, written to him by the Rája of Kapoortulla (dated 6th ultimo, in his own hand-writing), showing his determination to put down the crime. For the part he has already taken in the matter I think he deserves the thanks of our Government. Mr. McLeod is also anxious that the conduct of the Bhoonjaee tribe of Khutrees, in having so readily agreed to inter-marriages with the Bedees, should be favourably noticed by Government.

55.—The result of the meeting is that the Bhoonjaee tribe of Khutrees, to whom the Bedees originally belonged, and from whom they sprang, have agreed to give and take daughters in marriage; the Bhoonjaees retaining their own marriage customs: these being very economical, have enhanced the value of the arrangement.

56.—The Julundhur meeting was followed on the 21st April by Major Abbott having a gathering of the Rajpoot tribes who occupy the lower ranges of hills in the Hoosheearpoor district for the purpose of discussing various matters connected with marriages.

57.—A series of resolutions was adopted similar to those at Mynpooree, but fixing the rate of expenses at a lower scale.

58.—The meeting, in addition to the resolutions regulating marriage expenses, discussed many other points indirectly bearing on the question of Infanticide, and intimately connected with the general welfare and happiness of their communities.

59.—These have been embodied in the form of a petition, and which is appended to Major Abbott's report* of the meeting.

* Appendix B.

60.—Some of the points mooted by them will be disposed of in the new Civil Code now in course of publication, and any conventional rules which the whole body agree to, so long as they are not repugnant to equity or positive rule, will naturally guide our courts in their decisions.

61.—Major Abbott has entered on the subject with much earnestness and zeal, which entitle him to high praise. A beginning has been made by him amongst the Rajpoots, and the first great difficulty has been surmounted. It remains for me to state what general measures I think should be adopted to put an end to the disgraceful wholesale murder that is daily going on round us.

62.—I may first state that throughout the Punjab a strong feeling of abhorrence now exists against the crime, and that I think this feeling has much increased of late. The Bedees have taken the lead in concessions; in fact, they will be the first to give the crime up; their only motive was sacerdotal pride, and that has passed away. Their prestige is gone and their religion is rapidly going out of fashion.

63.—I gather from reports generally that most classes are eagerly desirous of its final suppression. We cannot doubt on being aided by maternal solicitude.

64.—But pride will not allow the people themselves to come forward. We must take the initiative, and we must show those who maintain the practice, or who hesitate to abandon it, that we are resolved on its suppression, while, at the same time, we offer every encouragement to those whose right feelings may dispose them to co-operate.

65. The high-born Rajpoots of the hills and the priestly Bedees of the plains must be inspired with alarm and impressed with the conviction that our Government is thoroughly in earnest.

66. The very full information we possess enables us to lay our hand on the different places infested with the crime.

67. Meetings should be held, and the whole influence of our Government, which I think is greater in the Punjab than in any part of India, be brought to bear on the subject.

68. I propose, then,—

Firstly.—That proclamations be issued throughout the Punjab denouncing the crime of Infanticide, and declaring the determination of Government to punish as murderers all who continue the practice.

Secondly.—That copies of the proclamation be distributed most largely amongst the classes who practise it, and that the heads of the tribes be called on to suppress it.

Thirdly.—That the heads of the villages (Lumberdars) in which Infanticide is known to prevail be called on to give information of the crime, under the penalty of being deposed from the village management and deprived of the income arising therefrom.

Fourthly.—That an annual census of the inhabitants, male and female, of all villages and tribes known to practise Infanticide, be made, distinguishing the male and female children.

Fifthly.—That a grand general meeting of the heads of all the tribes and classes known to practise it within 100 miles of Umritsur be held at Umritsur, at the Dewalee festival in November next, to discuss the subject of intermarriages, and to draw up rules for guidance.

Sixthly.—That the district officers noted in the margin be requested to attend, to bring with them the chief men of the tribes, and to throw the whole weight of their influence into the scale.

Major Abbott, Deputy	Commissioner of	Hoosheearpoor.
Capt. Farrington,	Ditto	Julundhur.
Mr. Bayley,	Ditto	Kángra.
,, Wedderburn,	Ditto	Lahore.
,, Inglis,	Ditto	Sealkote.
,, Saunders,	Ditto	Umritsur.
Capt. Becher,	Ditto	Goordaspore.
Major Clarke,	Ditto	Goojeránwála.
Mr. Brandreth,	Ditto	Ferozpore.
Mr. Bowring,	Ditto	Umbalah.
Capt. Larkins,	Ditto	Thanesur.
Major Goldney,	Ditto	Loodeeana.

Seventhly.—That the meeting be presided over by Messrs. McLeod, Raikes and Barnes, the Commissioners of the Julundhur, Lahore and Cis-Sutlej Divisions, with the Chief Commissioner at their head; the first, as having taken the chief lead in suppressing Infanticide in the Punjab; the second, as being the great originator of the movement in India; and the third, as possessing greater influence with the Rajpoots of Kángra than any other person.

Eighthly.—That the Commissioners of Mooltan and Jelum be furnished with copies of the resolutions which may be passed at Umritsur, and be required each to hold a meeting, one month subsequently, of the tribes who practise Infanticide in their divisions, and to urge on them the adoption of rules somewhat similar to what it is presumed will be passed at Umritsur.

69.—I feel assured that the grand meeting at the sacred city of Umritsur, attended with the *eclât* that such an assemblage would give, witnessed too by the many thousands who would be collected at the great festival, which is always celebrated there with so much pomp, would give a death-blow to the crime, and the resolutions there adopted* would be wafted from the great commercial capital of the west throughout India.

* Where the different communities decide and are unanimous in deprecating the tyranny and mobbing of the Meerasis, Bhat and other idle vagrants, the Police should be warned generally to assist whenever called on.

70.—On the return of the District Officers to their districts, they should be required to hold pergunna meetings, consisting of all classes of the inhabitants, with a view of adopting sumptuary laws, somewhat similar to those agreed to by the inhabitants of pergunnas Rahon and Julundhur. I believe no greater boon could be conferred on people, nor one more likely to attach them firmly to our rule. The relief would be felt in every house, from the lowest to the highest.

(Signed) R. MONTGOMERY.

No. 458.

From

P. MELVILL, ESQUIRE,

Secretary to the Chief Commissioner,

To

THE OFFG. SECY. TO THE GOVT. OF INDIA,

Foreign Department.

Dated Lahore, the 8th July 1853.

SIR,—I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to submit, for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-General, copies of a letter and minute from the Judicial

Judicial.

Commissioner, as well as of a highly interesting report by Major Edwardes, late Deputy Commissioner of Julundhur, on Female Infanticide.

2.—In 1846, shortly after the acquisition of the Trans-Sutlej Territory, the attention of the Chief Commissioner, as Commissioner of that division, was attracted to the remarkable prevalence of this atrocious crime. Endeavours were made by proclamation, by personal communication and influence, to arouse the fears and sympathies of those classes notoriously addicted to this practice.

3.—There can be no question that there are many hundred families throughout the Punjab among whom a single female child for generations has not been allowed to live; there can be no doubt that there are thousands of families among whom the practice of Female Infanticide was a social custom; among all Rajpoot tribes it is more or less practised; but among the Bedees, the chief sacerdotal class in the Punjab, it invariably prevailed. The solitary exceptional case quoted by Major Edwardes, as known in Julundhur, the contumely which that renegade Bedee who saved his child suffered, is evidence how universal was the custom of destroying female children.

4.—Throughout the Punjab the Bedee race are known as the "Koore-mar," or daughter-slayers. At the time above alluded to the Chief Commissioner endeavoured to enlist the powerful influence of Bedee Bikrama Sing, the recognised head of the race, in the movement against Female Infanticide.

5.—But that turbulent and bigoted priest replied to these overtures that he had long given up intercourse with the female sex, and therefore had no temptation to perpetrate the crime; but he did not consent to use his influence to put it down.

6.—The Chief Commissioner considers that the exertions of our officers have had the happiest results in diminishing the frequency of Female Infanticide; at the same time the practice is still but too common. Though instances are now common where even Bedee fathers can shew with pride and pleasure a daughter in the family, a long period must elapse before the crime is no longer known.

7.—To insure this great result, we must effect a radical change in the feelings, the prejudices, and the social customs of the people themselves. It must no longer be considered a disgrace to have a son-in-law, to marry a daughter into any but a class socially above that of her family. But above all the people must be taught to reduce the expenditure hitherto considered necessary by the bride's family. The personal influence of British officers, the knowledge that they take an interest in the matter, a desire by the people to stand well in the eyes of

their rulers, and lastly, the fear of punishment, will doubtless, from year to year, operate in diminishing the crime.

8.—The Chief Commissioner strongly deprecates any strict system of supervision by the Police, for it is certain to be impotent for all good, and liable to be used as an engine of extortion and oppression.

9.—A system of espionage is but too likely to enlist the feelings of the people against our efforts, and thus furnish a powerful inducement to thwart them. If we can once get influential natives to set their faces against Female Infanticide, to consider it a crime and a disgrace, our eventual success may be deemed certain.

10.—Any measure by which the expence attendant on the marriage ceremony can be fixed at a moderate sum proportioned to the means of the bride's family will produce the best results. It is astonishing what large sums are spent on such occasions. People live to save money to marry their daughters; others impoverish themselves for life to outvie their neighbours. Such is the custom all over India, but it is perhaps carried to a greater extent in the Punjab than elsewhere. Seventeen lakhs of rupees are said to have been spent at the marriage of Koonwur Nao-Nihal Singh with the daughter of the Ataree Chief; eight lakhs at that of the late Rája of Aloowala; the other day Raja Tej Sing expended a lakh of rupees at the wedding of his niece, married to the son of a poor Brahmin, near Saharunpore. In every rank of life the Hindu, economical and even parsimonious in every other respects, is lavish on this occasion.

11.—The importunities and exactions of the lazy mendicant classes, such as Bhats, Meerasees, and Fuqeers, who flock on such occasions to the bride's house and insult her family if not treated with what they consider adequate liberality, should be punished as misdemeanours.

12.—The Chief Commissioner approves of all the recommendations proposed by the Judicial Commissioner, as detailed in paragraph 68 of his minute, except that the headmen of villages should only be punished on flagrant neglect of duty, for theirs will be an irksome and invidious duty.

13.—A meeting of the most influential of our officers who may be at the time within a reasonable distance of Umritsur during the approaching Dewalee will doubtless give an impetus to the movement against Female Infanticide.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) P. Melvill, *Secretary*.

No. 3,894.

From

J. P. GRANT, ESQUIRE,

Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India,

To

J. LAWRENCE, ESQUIRE,

Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

Dated Fort William, the 7th September 1853.

Foreign Department.

SIR,—I have had the honor to receive and lay before the Governor-General in Council your Secretary's despatch of the 8th July, No. 458, forwarding copies of a letter and minute from the Judicial Commissioner, and of a report by Major Edwardes, on Female Infanticide in the Punjab.

2.—The Governor-General in Council has read these papers with deep interest and much gratification. He can conceive no purer or higher source of pride for the public officers of a State than such a record as this of the wide and rapid success of their exertions on behalf of the honor of our rule in the rescue of suffering humanity.

3.—The Governor-General in Council desires me to express, in the strongest language of cordiality and sincerity, the high and grateful approbation with which the Government of India regards exertions on the part of its officers which are so eminently calculated to reflect honor on the British name, and to add largely to the material happiness of the people, whom Providence has lately confided to our care.

4.—I am directed to say that you, and the officers under you, may rely with implicit confidence upon the desire of the Governor-General in Council to manifest his appreciation of the wise and benevolent object you have proposed to yourselves, and of his readiness to afford you at all times every encouragement and aid which can be supplied by the full measure of his power.

5.—The steps proposed by you at the suggestion of the Judicial Commissioner are approved of by His Lordship in Council. Concurring with you in the opinion that any thing like open supervision, or secret espionage, on the part of the Police should be avoided, as likely to lead to extortion and oppression, the Governor-General in Council is nevertheless of opinion that the sentiments of the Government, in condemnation of this horrible crime, should not be left to make their own way upon the convictions of the people, but should be openly proclaimed

and enforced, by denunciation of certain punishment upon those who are convicted of offending.

6. There are two causes alleged for Female Infanticide,—the one is a religious one, founded upon peculiar tenets or considerations of caste; the other is a pecuniary one, arising out of the habitual expenditure of large sums upon marriage ceremonies.

7.—The Government can bring its authority to bear upon both causes, by proclaiming that the destruction of female children is murder, whatever may be the moving cause of the crime; and that it shall, in case of conviction, be implacably visited with the punishment justly due to every murderer.

The Governor-General in Council conceives that the suggestion that every Bedee family which receives a pension from the Government should hold it on the condition of pledging itself to the abandonment of this family reproach, is well worthy of consideration at the point to which the question has now attained. Under any circumstances, every such pension should be forfeited where a conviction of Infanticide has been pronounced on any family or individual of the Bedees. But His Lordship in Council would go further than this.

The Governor-General in Council will be prepared to sanction any rewards, or honors, or even titles, which you may recommend the Government to bestow upon a few of those who may have been most forward in abandoning the inhuman practices which their fathers pursued.

8.—The second of the two causes of Infanticide can only be effectually removed by a voluntary determination of the people themselves to limit, by common consent, the expenses of marriage ceremonies to such amounts as shall do away with all inducement to, or pretext for the secret destruction of their female children. The this end the proposed great meeting at Umritsur during the ensuing Dewalee will no doubt materially conduce. The Governor-General in Council will look with the keenest interest for the reports (which you and your coadjutors are requested to forward) of the results of this important gathering.

9.—If the Government of India can in any way contribute to the probabilities of success, it will be most ready to do so.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. P. GRANT,

Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 263.

From

P. MELVILL, ESQUIRE,

Secy. to the Chief Commr. for the Punjab,

To

R. MONTGOMERY, ESQUIRE,

Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab.

Dated Lahore, the 19th September 1853.

Judicial.

SIR,—With reference to your letter No. 76, dated 16th June last, I have the honor, by direction of the Chief Commissioner, to forward, for your information, copy of my letter to Government No. 458, dated 8th July, and of the reply from the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, No. 3894, dated 7th instant, communicating the approval of the Most Noble the Governor-General to your propositions, and those of the Chief Commissioner for the suppression for Female Infanticide in the Punjab.

2.—The Chief Commissioner desires me to request that you will communicate copies of the above correspondence to the Commissioners of divisions for their information and guidance, and that you will also forward to them, for general circulation, a proclamation, carefully prepared in the vernacular, explaining the sentiments of the Government in condemnation of the crime, declaring that the destruction of a female child is murder, and the crime on conviction shall be visited with the punishment due to every murderer. The proclamation, a copy of which should be sent to the Chief Commissioner, should also set forth the views of Government with regard to the forfeiture of pensions and jagheers of Bedees, in the event of the crime of Infanticide being hereafter proved against any individual or family enjoying such grants; and also with regard to the dispensing of rewards, honors, and titles to those who may prove most forward among them in suppressing the crime.

3.—If any are of opinion that the past conduct of any individuals merits the consideration of Government, you can, of course, make a special reference regarding them. A few judicious selections of individuals for reward would doubtless have the best effects.

4.—The festival of the Dewalee will fall this year on the 1st October and the 1st of November. The Chief Commissioner will endeavour to be present at the great meeting which is proposed to be held during the festival at Umritsur. He desires me to request that you will invite to that important meeting all the leading Sirdárs and Heads of the

chief families of Bedís, especially Supoorun Sing, and his brother, residents of the Futehpúr Gogaira district, but generally known as the Mulsean jageerdars, from the name of their Jagheer Estate in the Julundhur Doab, who are the chief representatives of the older branch of the Bedee family. The Chief Commissioner desires that no invitation may be addressed to Bedee Bikrama Sing, now residing at Umritsur. This man is, as you are aware, the representative of the younger branch of the same family as Supoorun Sing, and previous to the late war had usurped the rights of that Bedee, and has always been much opposed to the efforts of our officers to suppress Female Infanticide, and moreover took a prominent part in the late rebellion.

5.—You will invite those of the Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners of districts within a reasonable distance of Umritsur to attend at the meeting, whom you may consider as desirable to assemble, taking care that the districts are not more than necessarily denuded of their officers. It would be advisable also to invite Rájahs Deenanath, Tej Sing, and Sahib Deeal, the Chief of Kupoortuia, and any other leading Sırdárs, as well as the representatives of the chief Bedee and Sodee families, who are the religious guides of the people.

6.—The Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej States might be requested to invite to the conference any of the Hill Chiefs and leading Rajpoots, who, he may consider, would wish to be present on the occasion.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) P. Melvill,

Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

REPORT OF MEETING AT UMRITSUR.

The following memorandum has been drawn out by the Judicial and Financial Commissioners, to bring before the Government the result of the great Meeting, held at Umritsur, on the 29th, 30th and 31st of October, for the suppression of Infanticide, and for the enactment of sumptuary and other Rules for regulating the expenditure of marriage ceremonies.

1.—On the receipt of the letter from the Secretary to the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, No. 3894, dated the 7th September last, conveyed in Mr. Secretary Melvill's letter No. 263, dated 19th idem, copies of these letters, and of all the correspondence

which had previously taken place, were transmitted by the Judicial Commissioner for the information of the several Commissioners of divisions, with a request that they would circulate them to the officers in charge of districts.

2.—The Commissioners of the Cis and Trans-Sutlej States and Lahore Division were requested to attend the meeting, to bring with them their District Officers, and to invite all the chief and leading men of the tribes who practised Infanticide. Numerous invitations were also sent to the Rájahs, Sirdárs and other Native gentlemen of rank and position, inviting them to the meeting.

3.—At the same time a proclamation* was issued throughout the Punjab, denouncing the crime of Infanticide, and threatening all who were proved guilty of it with punishment as for murder.

* *Vide* Appendix A.

4.—The Chief Commissioner being unable to attend, owing to urgent business on the Frontier, requested Mr. Montgomery and Mr. Edmonstone, the Judicial and Financial Commissioners for the Punjab, to preside at the meeting.

5.—On the day appointed, *viz.*, 29th October, all the Government Officers * had assembled, with the exception of Mr. Raikes, the Commissioner of the Lahore Division, who was prevented from attendance by illness. His absence was the more regretted, not only because he had taken a deep interest in the object of the meeting, but because at Mynpooree he had originated measures for the extirpation of Female Infanticide among the Chohan Rajpoots of that district.

* Mr. R. Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab.
Mr. G. Edmonstone, Financial Commissioner for the Punjab.
Mr. D. McLeod, Commissioner, Trans-Sutlej States.
Mr. G. Barnes, Commissioner, Cis-Sutlej States.
Major Clarke, Depy. Commissioner, Goojranwalla.
Mr. Inglis, Depy. Commissioner, Sealkote.
Mr. Saunders, Depy. Commissioner, Umritsur.
Mr. Wedderburn, Depy. Commissioner, Lahore.
Mr. Madocks, Offg. Depy. Commissioner, Batála.
Mr. Bayley, Depy. Commissioner, Kángra.
Major Abbott, Depy. Commissioner, Hoosheearpoor.
Captain Farrington, Depy. Commissioner, Julundhur.
Mr. Bowring, Depy. Commissioner, Umballa.
Mr. Brandreth, Depy. Commissioner, Ferozepoor.
Lieut. Fraser, Asst. Commissioner, of Loodeanáh (who represented Major Goldney, the Deputy Commissioner, who was prevented from attending.)

6.—A large number of natives of all ranks in the Punjab were also assembled. Amongst them were the members of the late durbár, the representatives of all the leading families among the Sikhs, the Chieftains of the Kángra hill, the Bedees of Dera Baba Nanuk, the commercial heads of every city of note, within 200 miles of Umritsur. Besides these classes, there were delegates from every district, representing the agricultural and trading interests.

7.—The proceedings of the first day's meeting were commenced by associating with the officers summoned for the occasion a select committee of natives who were calculated by their caste, position and local influence, to assist the operations. A list of them is given in the margin, and they were directed to attend at 12 o'clock at a durbár convened in the camp.

Rája of Aloowála.
,, Dína Náth.
,, Sáhib Diál.
,, Tej Singh.
Nawáb Sheikh Emam-ud-din.
Pandit Muksoodun.

8.—The first act was to call in the Julundhur and Hoosheearpoor delegates, who, in their own districts, had taken the lead as early as last year under the auspices of Mr. McLeod, the Commissioner, and Major Abbott and Captain Farrington, the District Officers, in reprobating the practice of Female Infanticide, and in restricting the marriage expenses, which was one of the principal incentives to this inhuman practice.

9.—The agreements which these local committees had executed were then read over, and the purport approved; they were held to be of general application, and it was unanimously agreed that they should be taken as the basis of future proceedings.

10.—The several Chiefs of the Punjab, the hill Rájahs and the heads of the committees were then summoned before the durbár, the objects of this meeting were explained to them severally, and each was invited and exhorted to lend his assistance and support. The agreements of the Julundhur and Hoosheearpoor committees were read over to them, and they were all directed to separate to give the purport of these documents their serious and earnest attention, and to make any suggestions or modifications which their feelings or the particular customs of their clans might dictate.

11.—These proceedings constituted generally the business of the first day. The durbár was not broken up till dusk, and it was arranged that the next day should be devoted by the delegates to private meetings and conferences, at which the sumptuary laws to be adopted by each tribe and each class should be determined, and agreements embodying them should be drawn up.

12.—Accordingly on the next day the Rajpoots, under the guidance of Messrs. Barnes and Bayley,—the representatives of the Bedees, Khutrees, agricultural and commerical classes, residents of the plains, under the superintendence of Mr. Saunders,—assembled in different groups in the enclosure of the Rámbagh at an early hour, and were engaged the whole day in deliberating on the important and interesting purposes which had brought them together.

13.—The above officers took no part in the proceedings,—the object of their presence being merely to preserve order and to give their countenance to the conferences of the assembled delegates.

14.—Rajah Deena Nath and Rajah Saheb Dial presided over the deliberations of the Brahmin and Khutree committees, and were

both most able and valuable counsellors on the occasion. Sirdars Shumsher Sing and Metab Sing, respectively, the representatives of the noble Sindianwála and Mujitia families, Sirdar Kirpal Singh, Muloee, and Hardat Singh, Budanea, with Sirdar Jod Singh and other Sikh chieftains, guided the deliberations of the Jat and Sikh fraternities, and contributed greatly, by their advice and countenance, to a satisfactory termination. Nawab Emam-ud-din Khán, and other Mahomedan gentlemen presided over the council of the Mahomedans and appeared to take the same warm and praiseworthy interest in furthering the object of the meeting.

15.—After four or five hours' close and earnest consultation the committees handed in their several written and duly attested agreements. In these documents are laid down well-graduated scales of marriage expenditure for the different castes and communities whose interests are concerned. In the majority of them three or four grades of expenditure, according to the means and position in society of the parties contracting the marriage, are recognized, and a maximum as well as a minimum of expenditure is fixed; also all the details of charge, the fees and gratuities to Brahmins, barbers and others, and the other incidental expenses of the marriage feast and procession are laid down at length. Translations of all these agreements are appended to this despatch.

16.—The Hill Rajpoot Chiefs, with the most laudable promptitude, laid aside the jealousies and feuds which have descended among them (the heir-loom of centuries) and headed the assemblies of their tribes. The Rajahs of Goleria, Sukeet, Lumbagraon, Chumba and Noorpoor were present in person. The Rajah of Mundee was represented by two members of the Regency, *viz.*, Vuzeer Goshaon and Meean Bag Sing, the Rajahs of Nadaon and Kotlehr, who were absent from illness, by their eldest son and nephew respectively. There was also a delegation from the Rajpoot tribes of Jummoo, accompanied by Dewan Huree Chund, the confidential agent of Maharajah Goolab Sing, who rendered active aid on the occasion.

17.—After some conversation on the subject and several various propositions, the European officers withdrew, but after a brief interval their presence was requested, when the agreements which had been entered into were handed in; copies of these are inserted in the Appendix (B. to Q.).

18.—The Aloowala Rajah, as well as the other Rajpoot Chiefs* who exercise independent authority within the limits of their respective territories, bound themselves down (Appendix C.) to do all in their power to extinguish the practice of Female Infanticide, and

* Rájah of Sukeet.
Rajah of Chumba.
Rajah of Mundee.
Rajah of Goleria.†

† This man has been recently declared not to possess police powers, but in other respects is considered as on an equality with the independent Chiefs.

to enforce the limitation of the expenditure on the celebration of marriages, in accordance with the agreements executed by each class of their subjects.

19.—Before separating, a general resolution (Appendix B.) was adopted both by the Rajpoots and other classes, expressive of their horror of Infanticide and of their determination to suppress it by all means in their power.

20.—The phraseology of this agreement was purposely made comprehensive and brief. It contained a declaration of the wishes of all assembled to strike at the root of every cause which experience had proved to be an incentive to Infanticide.

21.—The meeting broke up at a very late hour.

22.—The third and last day of the meeting was devoted to a general durbar. It was then that the delegates from the different districts and the representatives of the various tribes were to be required publicly to declare their determination to suppress Infanticide.

23.—Nothing was left undone by the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Saunders, and his Assistant, Mr. Denison, to give the fullest effect to the proceedings of the durbar. Pavilion tents covering a space 200 feet long by 62 broad, and capable of accommodating about three thousand people, had been prepared for the occasion, in the Umritsur Jail, to the no small credit of that well-arranged establishment.

24.—A Committee of Officers * was formed. These officers obtained a list from each Deputy Commissioner of the native gentlemen, residents of his district, who were in attendance, and suitable places were assigned to all, according to their relative rank and the consideration to which they were entitled. The duty of the Committee was very onerous. They had to determine the order of precedence for upwards of 200 natives of rank,—at all times a difficult task, but, in so mixed an assembly, a particularly delicate and invidious one. It fell to their lot to receive each native gentleman as he entered the reception tent, and to conduct him to his seat with marks of consideration, and after all these had been accommodated, to admit the delegates of humbler rank, to group them according to their respective tribes, classes and districts, and so to dispose them over the tent as to economise space without incommoding any one; and when all were seated, and the disposition of the durbar was completed, the duty of the Committee did not cease. It was only by the good temper, conciliatory though firm bearing, and unceasing exertion of the gentlemen who composed the Committee, that order was maintained and silence secured among the multitude that thronged the tent during the progress of the proceedings which remain to be described. The arrangements made by the Committee gave universal satisfaction; though an unprecedented

* Mr. J. D. Inglis.
Mr. E. C. Bayley.
Major Abbott.
Mr. C. B. Saunders.
Mr. L. Bowring.

number of natives of rank were assembled, and their sensitiveness as to all ceremonial observances is proverbial, there was not a single expression of disapproval, disappointment or displeasure.

25.—At 2 o'clock, when all had been assembled, the Commissioners * took their seats.

* R. Montgomery, Judicial Commr.; G. Edmonstone, Fin. Commr.; D. McLeod, Commr., T. S. S.; and G. Barnes, Commr., C. S. S.

26.—The business of the meeting was opened by Mr. Edmonstone, who, after a few preliminary remarks, read a translation of the Governor-General's letter, conveying his sanction to, and his approval of, the objects of the meeting, his determination to punish all who might be hereafter convicted of Female Infanticide as for murder, no less than his readiness to confer honorary distinctions on those who might cordially co-operate with the officers of Government in extirpating the inhuman practice. Mr. Edmonstone then expressed the anxiety with which all the Government officers had watched the deliberations of the several classes on the preceding day, and the satisfaction with which intelligence of their successful termination had been received, and concluded by reading the general form of agreement, and demanding from the assembled crowds whether they concurred in the sentiments which it expressed, and were prepared to signify their determination to conform to the conditions of the representatives of the Government. On a general expression of assent being given, numerous copies of it were handed round for signature, the Rajpoot and other chiefs first signing. Subsequently Mr. McLeod rose and conveyed the thanks of Government to those residents of the Julundhur and Hoosheearpoor Districts who in the previous year had taken the lead in the measures which now had been generally adopted : he exhorted all present not only to act up to the letter of the engagements into which they had severally entered, but to receive and adopt them in their whole spirit, and to omit no opportunity of manifesting their detestation of the practice, as well as of contributing to its extinction by whatever means.

27.—The durbar concluded by Mr. Montgomery thanking the native gentlemen for their co-operation and presence, and exhorting all on their return to their homes to carry out fully the spirit of the resolution.

28.—The Judicial and Financial Commissioners cannot conclude the account of this meeting (fraught with such vast and important interests to the well-being of a whole people) without putting on record their thanks to all the European officers who took part in the proceedings. So large a body of Civil Officers, the representatives of the British Government, were never, perhaps, before in India collected together. All vied with each other in forwarding the objects of the meeting. The utmost good feeling prevailed, and the most hearty co-operation was afforded. To their labours must in a great measure be attributed the success of the meeting.

29.—The natives, too, of all ranks entered heartily into the object of the meeting; they expressed themselves grateful for the interest the Government had taken in their welfare.

30.—The city of Umritsur, the commercial capital of the Punjab (always crowded at the great Dewalee festival), was unusually so on this occasion. It was with difficulty accommodation could be found for the numerous strangers. The ground outside of the city was covered with the encampments of the numerous native chiefs with their followers. The utmost order prevailed, both in city and in camp; there was no disturbance of the peace, no increase even of petty crime; and this notwithstanding that the local Police was not strengthened for the occasion, either by drafts from outposts or by soldiers of the line; nothing could surpass the excellence of Mr. Saunders' (the Deputy Commissioner's) arrangements, and the greatest credit is due both to him and to his energetic Assistant, Mr. Dension, for their exertions preliminary to the meeting and during its continuance.

31.—The Commissioners are persuaded that this demonstration will be long impressed on the recollection of all who witnessed the interesting spectacle, and that it will have the most powerful moral effect. The natural feelings of the people have been strongly appealed to, their hopes have been excited, their fears aroused, and their sense of self-interest conciliated; some may still cling to the notions which have been fostered in their minds since childhood, still pride themselves on their superior birth, and, for a time, continue the reprobated practice; but the fear of detection, the shame of exposure, the inevitable consequences, will gradually have their ordinary effect, and it is hardly too much to anticipate that ere the present generation die out the practice will have ceased even among those tribes who have been most addicted to it hitherto. Whatever may be the general sense of the people as to the attack which has been thus openly made upon the custom of ages, whether they are prepared or not to relinquish that which in their estimation is a mark of superior birth, this, at any rate, is certain, that the people are sincere in their desire to have matrimonial expenses restricted within reasonable limits, and certain obstacles to intermarriages between particular classes removed; and there can be little doubt that they will cordially unite in carrying out the agreements which on this head they have executed. The extravagant expenditure, hitherto considered indispensable, has certainly been the main incentive to the commission of this crime, and the removal of the one affords the surest hope of the eradication of the other in the course of time.

R. Montgomery,
Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab.

G. F. Edmonstone,
Financial Commissioner for the Punjab.

APPENDIX A.

Translation of the Proclamation issued for the Suppression of Female Infanticide in accordance with the instructions of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council.

WHEREAS it has been brought to the notice of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council that the practice of destroying female children, either at the time of birth or subsequently, is prevalent amongst certain classes of people in the Punjab, the following orders are, by direction of the Most Noble the Governor-General, hereby notified to the public for their information and guidance, with a view to the suppression of this horrid practice, which is sinful in the eyes of God and hateful to the authorities.

Vide para. 3.

I.—Any person committing the crime of Infanticide, in defiance of God and of the authorities, will incur the penalty of murder.

II.—The crime was most prevalent among the Bedee community but some of the members have lately abstained from it; this fact has afforded great satisfaction to the Most Noble the Governor-General, and it is hoped that all the Bedees, without exception, will give up the evil practice and follow the right path; otherwise, those families who continue to perpetrate the crime shall, besides incurring the above penalty, (*i. e.* of murder), forfeit all their jageers and other pensionary allowances, &c., which may have been assigned to them by Government.

III.—Any person who, conscientiously fearing God and the authorities, may use his endeavours towards suppressing the crime of Female Infanticide, in compliance with the wishes of Government, will be held deserving of reward, honor and title from the Most Noble the Governor-General of India.

IV.—Be it known that a general meeting of high British functionaries attached to the Punjab, and of Rajahs, Chiefs, and other native gentry will be held at Umritsur in the month of Katik (October), during the Dewalee festival, with a view to devise measures for the suppression of Female Infanticide. All persons desirous of attending the meeting are hereby invited to do so at the time and place above indicated.

APPENDIX B.

Ikrarnama, or agreement on the part of all the Chiefs and people residing in the Punjab and the Trans-Sutlej States, &c., respecting the prevention of Infanticide and the making of arrangements in regard to marriage expenses.—Signed at Umritsur on the 31*st October* 1853.

IN the territories of the Punjab the heinous crime of Infanticide has not yet been completely suppressed, notwithstanding the existing prohibition issued against it

Vide para. 19.

by the authorities. We have, therefore, in accordance with the order of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, met together with view to devise measures for the prevention of the crime; and we hereby make the following engagements, certifying that we shall abide by them :—

First.—The crime of Infanticide being so hateful to God, and execrable in the eyes of Government and of all pious and good men, we will at once cause the apprehension of any person of our tribe who may perpetrate the crime in our ilakas or villages, and bring the same to the notice of the authorities; and we will expel from caste any person who may refuse or show reluctance to join in the endeavors to accomplish the above object.

Secondly.—One of the chief causes of Infanticide being the expenditure of enormous sums of money on occasions of marriage, in providing for dowries, and for the large number of people who attend at weddings, we shall, with a view to reduce these expenses, adopt in our several castes and tribes all the arrangements connected with marriage charges which are in force in the Mynpooree, Julundhur and Hoosheearpoor Districts, or any other similar arrangements which may be made by Punchaeets, in the presence of the several District Officers who preside over us.

Thirdly.—Another great evil besides that of the expenditure above alluded to, is the gathering of Bhâts, Raes, Duts, Bhands, Naees, Mirasees, and Beggars, on occasions of marriages, who threaten and abuse the parties concerned in them, and, inflicting injuries on their persons with knives and stones, clamourously demand charity.

If any such party shall, in future, be found to conduct himself in such an outrageous and harassing manner, he will be apprehended and handed over to the Police, and we will never allow him admittance to weddings, or give him any thing in charity; and will apply to the District Officer for aid in the matter.

Note.—This general agreement was signed at the Grand Meeting in open Durbar by all the heads of the representatives of the people there assembled.

APPENDIX C.

Translation of an Agreement entered into by the Chiefs of the Trans-Sutlej Division, exercising judicial and fiscal powers in their estates.

A meeting having been assembled at Umritsur, by order of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, with a view to devise measures for the complete suppression of Infanticide, and to limit the outlay incurred upon marriages, in which Meeting I have, by invitation of the British officers, taken part, I hereby engage that the rules agreed to at that meeting shall, in future, be put

Vide para. 18.

in force in the estates over which I exercise authority; that I will use my best endeavors entirely to suppress and put an end to the dreadful crime of Infanticide; that I will enforce the scale determined upon as the maximum of expenditure, to be incurred on occasions of marriage by the different classes over whom I exercise control, and that I will not allow Mirasees, Naees, Beggars, or any other class of persons, to exercise importunity at weddings, or in any way to harass those who may be engaged in them.

That if it shall, at any time, appear that any person has attempted to make the observance of the rules now laid down a subject of reproach or contumely, I will have him brought to punishment, and that I will exert myself generally in all respects, and with hearty good will, to promote the highly laudable object which the British Government have in view.

Documents to the above effect were separately drawn out in Persian, and signed by the following Chiefs :—

The Raja of Aloowala, the Rajah of Chumba, and Meean Bhag Sing and also by the Rajah of Gulehr, with such modifications as were rendered necessary by the fact of his not possessing criminal powers within his estates.

APPENDIX D.

Agreements entered into by the Rajpoot Rajahs of the Kangra and otherHill Districts.

A grand meeting has been held at Umritsur for suppressing Female Infanticide in the Punjab, and making arrangements for limiting the outlay to be incurred on marriages; we therefore hereby resolve to make the following arrangements with regard to expenditure on such occasions :—

1st.—Rajahs will spend ... ... Rs.	5,000
2nd.—Meeans, being brothers of Rájahs	2,500
3rd.—Meeans, being other distánt relations of Rajahs ...	1,100
4th.—Other Rajpoots, Zimindars, Lumberdars, &c. ...	200
5th.—Begarees, (Koolees,) and other persons of low caste	80

We bind ourselves to abide always by the above scale, and we (the Rajahs) will insist on our subjects doing the same :—

Signed by Rajah Shumsher Sing, Guleria.
" " Purtab Chund, Kutoch.
" " Sree Sing, Chumbawala.
" " Ogur Sein, Suketwala.
" " Beja Chund, of Mundee.
" " Narain Pal, Kotlehr.
" " Rajah Jodbeer Chund, Nadaonwala, and
" " Juswunt Sing, Noorporea.

APPENDIX E.

Agreement by the Bedees of Kusba Dera Baba Nanuk (the seat of the Bedee tribe), Pergunna Butala, in Zilla Goordaspoor, regarding the outlay to be incurred on marriages among them.

We agree to the following scale of expenditure to be incurred on marriages, exclusive of jewels for the Bride, the number and value of which will depend on the circumstances of her parents :—

Among persons of the	1st class	... ...	Rs. 500
Ditto	2nd ditto	... ...	„ 400
Ditto	3rd ditto	... ...	„ 202
Ditto	4th ditto	... ...	„ 155

Signed by the principal Bedees of Dera Baba Nanuk.

APPENDIX F.

We the Zemindars and Lumberdars of villages in the Tehseels of Pergunnas Umritsur, Turun-Tarun, Sowrian and Tulwundee, Zila Umritsur, having assembled together, in conformity to the instructions received at the meeting of the Punjab authorities, and having determined by general consent upon the arrangements to be observed in regard to outlay on the marriages of girls among us, do hereby engage that the expenses of marriages, amongst persons of different conditions, shall be regulated according to the three following scales, *viz.* :—

All persons in a low state of life, and not living in easy circumstances, will spend from 1 to 125 rupees; those in easy circumstances and occupying a middle station in life, will incur from 125 to 250 rupees, while all persons of substance and consequence will be at liberty to expend from 250 to 500 rupees, on the marriages of their daughters.

The following is a detail of the above-mentioned scales by which all marriage ceremonies shall be regulated in future, and which shall not be deviated from :—

1st Scale.—For poor people, *i. e.* from 1 to 125 Rupees :—

The Burat (wedding party) to consist of 10 persons.

Fees to Lagees, (attendants,) @ 4 annas each ...	Rs.	25
Feasting the marriage party, and presents to Shrines and Brahmins of the village, and to relatives ...	„	40
Dowry to the Bride, in household utensils, apparel, jewels, &c.	„	60
Total ...	Rs.	125

2nd Scale.—For people of middle station in life:—

The Burat to consist of 20 persons.

Fees to Lagees, @ 8 Annas each	Rs.	50
Feasting the marriage party, and presents to Shrines and Brahmins of the village, and to relatives ...	"	80
Dowry to the Bride, in household utensils, apparel, jewels, &c.	"	120
Total ...	Rs.	250

3rd Scale.—For persons in affluent circumstances:—

The Burat to consist of 40 persons.

Fees to Lagees, @ 1 Rupee each	Rs.	100
Feasting the wedding party, friends and relatives, and presents to Brahmins, Shrines, &c., of the village ...	"	160
Dowry to the Bride, in household utensils, apparel, and jewels	"	240
Total ...	Rs.	500

We also engage that no girl shall be allowed to remain unmarried after the age of 12; that no person shall, from mercenary considerations, or at the instigation of any of his relatives or of strangers, or on the ground of poverty of the party to whom his daughter may be betrothed, be allowed to cancel the betrothal, and promise her to another except only in the event of its being subsequently discovered that the intended bridegroom labors under some incurable disease or natural infirmity, such as leprosy, epilepsy, loss of sight, lameness, or impotency.

That in the event of any person not effecting the marriage of his daughter after she has attained her twelfth year, or having recourse to any of the illegal proceedings above alluded to, we will bring him to the notice of the authorities. It will then rest with Government to deal with the delinquent in the manner that may be deemed proper.

The several items of expense attendant on weddings, known as Vara* and Batacharee,† shall not, for the several classes, exceed the scales above laid down.

The prevention of the abusive language and boisterous vituperations which the adoption of the above arrangements will naturally give rise to on the part of the different classes of beggars and others who clamourously demand charity at weddings, and the protection of the marriage parties from their insulting and noisy demands, will rest with Government.

* Alms to beggars, &c., on the occasion of the marriage party leaving the Bride's family residence.

† Presents to Mirasees, Bhats, Barbers, &c.

Signed by numerous Zemindars and Lumberdars of villages in the Tehseels of Purgunnas Umritsur, Turun-Tarun, Sowrian, and Tulwundee, in Zila Umritsur.

APPENDIX G.

Translation of an Agreement entered into by the Brahmins and Kutrees (Sureens excepted) of the Town of Umritsur, laying down the scale of expenses to be incurred by the parents of the Bride on Betrothals and Marriages.

The practice of betrothals being effected and ratified by relatives other than the parents of the betrothed parties to be disallowed.

Rusoom, or customs connected with the ceremony of Betrothal.

I.—Bajee (presents on the day of betrothal) to be as follows:—

	In food.			In cash	Total outlay, calculated at current prices.
	Loochees.	Kurah.	Kuchourees.		
	Large thin cakes, made of fine wheat flour fried in ghee.	Sweet-meats.	Small thick cakes of wheat flour, fried in ghee.		
				Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Among persons of the 1st class ..	700 in No.	7 seers	14 seers	11 0 0	25 0 0
Do. do. 2nd class	500 in No.	5 ,,	10 ,,	7 0 0	22 0 0
Do. do. 3rd class	200 in No.	2 ,,	4 ,,	5 0 0	10 0 0

Note.—The Loochees not to exceed one chetak each in weight, or 16 in number per seer.

II.—*Pershad Teeruth* (*see* No. 2 of Explanatory Statement, Appendix R).

To be sent only once, or not at all, at the pleasure of the bridegroom's father. The *Pershad* is generally to consist of Toys, Choonees, (covering sheets of colored cloth, an article of female attire,) *Purnas* (colored handkerchiefs, &c.). If commuted to cash, the payment to be as follows:—

Among persons of the 1st class	Rs. 7	0	0
Do. do. 2nd class	„ 5	0	0
Do. do. 3rd class	„ 2	0	0

III.—*Yugeo Puweet* (*see* Appendix R.) to be 4 Rupees, besides the presents which may be made by the relatives of the bride's family.

IV.—*Vudhaee and Beyee Vudhaee* (*see* Appendix R).

The *Vudhaee* presents to be 2 Purats, or trays of sweetmeats, valued at about	Rs.	5 0 0
Cash	„	1 0 0

Beyee Vudhaee (or presents made on the day following that of the *Vudhaee*) to depend on the pleasure of the bride's parents. The *Biraduree* (brotherhood) not to have the power of enforcing the same.

In the event of the *Beyee Vudhaee* being observed, the presents to be regulated by the scale given below :—

	Purats, or trays of sweetmeats.	Cash.
Among persons of the 1st class ...	101	51
do. do. 2nd do. ...	51	25
do. do. 3rd do. ...	31	13

Note.—(Some persons do not observe the custom of *Vudhaee*, but in lieu of the presents made on the occasion of the *Vudhaee*, give jewels to the bride on marriage.)

Rusoom, or customs connected with the marriage ceremony :—

I.—*Milnee* (or presents in cash,) on the occasion of the meeting of the intended bride's and bridegroom's parents. (*See* Appendix R. No. 5.)

Among persons of the 1st class	Rs. 125
Do. do. 2nd class	„ 101
Do. do. 3rd class	„ 31

The presents usually made to certain relatives of the bridegroom's family on the occasion of the *Milnee* to be in addition to the above sums.

Mutta Tikkun, or interview money (*see* Appendix R.), to be paid to three persons only, *viz.*, the father and paternal and maternal grandfathers of the bridegroom.

If the bridegroom's parents wish to give something to their uncles (both maternal and paternal), they may do so out of the *Milnee* money that they receive.

The *Milnee* presents to female relatives to be one-half the scale allowed for male members.

II.—*Dhung* (presents in food, on the day of *Milnee*).

Muttee, or jars of deyhee (curds), according to established usage.

Pinnee, (balls made of wheat flour and sugar, prepared in ghee).	Among persons of the 1st class, 500 in No.
Each *pinnee* to weigh half a seer pukka weight.	2nd class, 250 „ 3rd class, 125 „

Muttee, large cakes of wheat flour prepared in ghee, each Muttee to weigh ⅛ seer pukka.	Among persons of the 1st class, 500 in No. 2nd class, 250 " 3rd class, 125 "

Should any person wish to give less than the above scale he will be at liberty to do so, and may supply from 2½ to 17 large pinnees. Among certain classes, a basketful of goor is given in lieu of the pinnee.

III.—*Uloofa* (*see* Appendix R.) as heretofore.

IV.—*Lag* and *Brumbhoj.*—(Fees to Brahmins, Naees, &c., and feasting Brahmins.)

Among persons of the		1st class	... ...	132 Rupees.
Do.	do.	2nd do.	... ...	66 "
Do.	do.	3rd do.	... ...	25 "

V.—*Duhej*, or *Duhez* (Dowry.)

Tewur (a suit of female attire), consisting of 3 pieces, *viz*, Petticoat, Bodice, and Ornee (covering sheet).	From 2½ to 13 in number.
Bewur (Do. do. consisting of 2 pieces *Ornee* and Bodice).	31 in number.

One suit of clothes for the bridegroom, jewels for the bride, according to the circumstances of her parents.

Pulung (bedstead), *Peera* (wooden stool), cooking utensils, as heretofore.

Presents to the Panda, or officiating priest	Cash 1 Rupee, *Bewur* 2 in No.

Presents in food for the bride after the celebration of the nuptial, and in the same year.

I.—On *Kurwa Chouth* (a Hindoo festival), which takes place on the 4th Usoo (September) as heretofore.

II.—On the *Bhooga*, on 4th Magh (January), *Muttee, Purakree*, one and a quarter seer. Mooroondas, or balls made of parched wheat and goor.

The above scale of expenses to be incurred on marriages has been determined by the *Surbut Punchaeet* (all the Punches) at a general meeting. All agree to the same, and any one deviating from it will be held accountable to the Biraduree (*i. e.* his tribe).

Signed by all the principal Punches and inhabitants. (Brahmins and Khutrees) of the town of Umritsur.

APPENDIX H.

Translation of an Agreement entered into by the Brahmins and Khutrees of Lahore regarding the scale of expenditure to be incurred on Betrothals and Marriages among them.

Betrothals to be negotiated by relatives other than the parents of the parties :—

I.—BHAJEE.

	* Loochees.	Kurah. Seers.	Kuchourees. Seers.	In cash. Rs. A. P.	Total expenses calculated at current prices.
Persons of the 1st class	700 in No.	7	14	11 0 0	25 0 0
Ditto 2nd class	500 ditto	5	10	7 0 0	22 0 0
Ditto 3rd class	200 ditto	2	4	5 0 0	10 0 0

II.—PURSHAD TEERUT.

To be optional with the father of the bride. If he wish to send it, he should do so only once. The Purshad is generally to consist of Toys, Choonnees, &c., from the Teerut ; if cash be paid instead, it should be as follows :—

1st class persons ...	... ...	7 Rupees
2nd class ditto ...	... ...	5 "
3rd class ditto ...	... ...	2 "

III.—BUDHAEE.

Some persons do not make the usual presents in cash and food on occasions of Budhaee, but give jewels instead.

The *Budhaee* presents are to consist of two Purats, or trays of sweetmeats, and one Rupee in cash on the first day.

Beyee Budhaee, presents (as noted below) on the second day, to be optional with the father of the bride; the Biraduree cannot enforce them.

	Purats.	In Cash.
1st class persons	101	51 Rupees.
2nd class do.	51	25 "
3rd class do.	31	13 "

The *Yugeo Puweet* presents to be 4 Rupees besides whatever may be given by the relatives of the bride's family.

* Each loochee should not exceed one chetak in weight, or 16 in number per seer.

IV.—Milnee.

Milnee presents, to be for the	1st class	...	Rs.	125
Do. do.	2nd class	...	„	101
Do. do.	3rd class	...	„	31

Besides the above, the bride's parents present certain relatives of the bridegroom with cash, *Mutta Tikkun*, (*i. e.* present in cash) to be made to the father and maternal grand-fathers of the bridegroom.

If the father of the bridegroom wish to give something to his own brother or uncle, he will be at liberty to do so out of the *Milnee* money which he may receive from the bride's parents.

Milnee presents to the female relatives will be half the scale allowed for male members.

"*Dhung*" *Muttee*, or jars containing duhee, as heretofore.

Pinnee and *Muttee* as follows :—

1st class	Pinnees	500	in number of	(1 seer each.)
	Muttees	500	ditto	(4 muttees to a seer).
2nd class	Pinnees	250	ditto	(as above).
	Muttees	250	ditto	(as above).
3rd class	Pinnees	125	ditto	(as above).
	Muttees	125	ditto	(as above).

Parties will be at liberty to send a smaller number of Pinnees and Muttees according as they wish.

The number of large Pinnees to be from 2½ to 17.

In some castes a basket full of goor is given in lieu of Pinnee.

V.—Duhej.

Tewur (or suit of female attire, consisting of 3 articles,—1 Petticoat, 1 Bodice, 1 Sheet,) from 2½ to 13 in number.

Bewur (ditto consisting of 2 articles—1 Sheet and 1 Bodice,) 31 in number.

One wooden bedstead and stool.

Household utensils as heretofore.

Jewels to the bride according to the circumstances of her parents.

A suit of clothes for the bridegroom.

VI.—*Uloofa*, as heretofore.

Miscellaneous expenses of Lag and Brumbhoj, as follows :—

1st class	...	...	Rs.	132
2nd class	...	...	„	66
3rd class	...	...	„	25

After the celebration of the marriage, the father of the bride will send presents on the day of the "Kurwa Chouth," as heretofore.

The *Bhooga* presents to be as follows:—

One tray containing one and a quater seer of Muttee and Purakree and Mooroonda, prepared of wheat mixed with goor.

Abstract of outlay to be incurred on betrothals and marriages among persons of the 2nd class:—

Bhajee (Loochee, &c.)	Rs.	15
In Cash	"	22
Purshad Teerut	"	5
Budhaee	"	2
Beyee-Budhaee	"	50
Yugeo Puweet, ...	"	4
Milnee	"	101
DHUNG, *viz.*—		
Deyhee	"	22
Pinnee	"	10
Muttee	"	5
Uloofa	"	10
Total ...		231

The above rules for regulating marriage expenses have been drawn up by the "Surbut Punchayeet," and all agree to the same. Any person infringing them will be held accountable to the Biraduree (brotherhood).

Among the Bhabras there is an old standing custom of distributing "Nawa," or alms to the poor, &c., at two tukas or four pice per man, and giving a "Jeewunhai" (feast) to the people of their caste (Biraduree). Any excess which they may lately have introduced in these respects to be discontinued.

Signed by numerous Pundits, Brahmins, Khutrees, &c.

APPENDIX I.

Translation of an Agreement entered into by the Moosulman Zemindars of villages in and around Lahore.

Agreeably to the wishes of Government, we beg to submit the following detail of expenditure to be incurred on marriage ceremonies among us, trusting that the same may be approved of:—

Scales of expenditure.

I.—At the time of betrothal, from two to five Rupees in cash by the parents of the intended bridegroom.

From one to two and a half Tewurs Sootee in clothing; and from one to two Rupees in cash, by the parents of the intended bride.

II.—On the occasion of a day being fixed for the celebration of the nuptials from one to two Rupees in cash, beside the distribution of goor by the parents of the bridegroom.

The parents of the bride to distribute from five to eleven, or at the utmost twenty-one, seers of goor.

III.—Parties living in distant villages who may give Tumbol (or presents in cash in aid of the marriage) will get one seer of goor, and be fed on the day of marriage; while persons of neighbouring villages giving the Tumbol will be fed only once with rice.

IV.—A sum of from one to seven rupees to be paid as "Deh Khurch," village expenses, and nine rupees on the day the Burat, or Marriage party, is dismissed, to Lagees and Kumeens (*i. e.*, Barbers, mirasees and other menials attached to the family of the bride), and from one to two rupees to the head of the village.

Dowry (Duhej) from five to eleven or twenty-one suits of female attire (Tewur Sootee) for the bride, and from one to five or eleven suits of male apparel.

V.—*Bhajee* to the whole village to be discontinued.

VI.—*Vara* to be also discontinued, as well as the customs of throwing money on the dolee (a sedan in which the bride is carried) and giving presents to Mirasees, Bhats and others, who clamourously demand the same.

It behoves the people to obey the mandates of their rulers. We agree to the above engagements.

(Signed and sealed by numerous Lamberdárs of villages in the suburbs and neighbourhood of Lahore.)

APPENDIX J.

Translation of an Agreement entered into by the different castes in Musoolmans enumerated below, living in and around the City of Lahore, and submitted through their respective Chowdrees.

Having received, with sensations of great joy and gratitude, the orders directing the discontinuance of improper customs, such as giving Budhai (charity) to beggars, and the reduction of the extravagant expenditure incurred on occasions of marriages, issued by the British authorities with a view to secure the welfare of their subjects, we beg to lay down the following scale of expenses to be incurred on marriages in our tribe:—

I.—A man in the lowest degree of poverty will, on the occasion of his daughter's or son's marriage, spend one rupee (in sweetmeats).

II.—Ditto being in somewhat better circumstances than the above ... ... Rs. 5

III.—Ditto ditto ditto ... ... „ 25

IV.—Ditto ditto ditto ... ... „ 50

V.—A man of substance and consequence, from 125 to 200 Rupees (including clothes and jewels).

Signed by numerous Chowdrees, or representatives, of Ironsmiths, Saddlers, Butchers, Tailors, Washermen, Tent-manufacturers, Bakers, Painters, Artisans, &c., &c., of Lahore.

APPENDIX K.

Scale of expenditure to be incurred on occasions of bethrothal and marriage by the parents of the bride and bridegroom in the towns of Hushiarpoor, Bujwara, Seam Mookerean, Gurh Shunkur and Hureeana, Zilla Hushiarpoor.

Scale of expenditure to be incurred by the parents of the bride, from 25 to 400 Rupees, *viz.* :—

I.—On the occasion of the Shugoon, or presents sent on betrothal, by the hand of the Prohit (family priest) or Hujam (barber):—

Cash ... ... 1 Rupee.

Dried dates ... ... 7 in number.

II.—Saha Chitee and Lugun :—

Saha Chittee.—Presents sent with the Saha Chitee, or letter fixing a day for the celebration of the nuptials :—

In cash ... ... from 1 to 5 Rupees.

Misree (sugar-candy) ... 5 Seers.

Lugun.—Presents sent either with the Saha Chitee or a short time after it.—

In cash ... ... from 11 to 51 rupees.

Tewun.—Female attire, consisting of three pieces, *viz.*, a petticoat, a bodice, and covering sheet, two and a half suits.

Jewels.—According to the circumstances of the bride's parents.

Chuk.—A head ornament, made of gold, one in number.

III.—On the occasion of the wedding the marriage party to consist of "Bur Brahmin," *i. e.*, the family priest, the bridegroom and nine others, *viz.*, the Surbala (a relative of the bridegroom who accompanies him on the occasion), a Motbir (confidential agent), and 7 Lagees (such as Brahmins, Naees, &c., &c.), with from 20 to 50 persons besides to form the procession.

IV.—*Uloofa*—(Presents on the near approach of the marriage party to the station (village or town) in which the bride's family reside):—

In cash ... ... from 1 to 5 Rupees.

V.—The custom of the Dakhila (or distribution of alms to beggars, &c., by the bridegroom's parents on the arrival of the marriage party at the residence of the bride's family) to be discontinued.

VI.—*Buteree*, or provisions (ata, dal, sugar, rice, &c.,) supplied on the marriage party reaching the residence of the bride's family. The Punches of the place to accompany the buteree presents:—

From 5 to 21 maunds, kutcha or pukka weight.

VII.—*Milni*, or meeting of the bride and bridegroom's relatives on the night following the arrival of the marriage party:

From 1 to 11 Rupees in cash.

VIII.—*Vedee.*—Presents to Prohits and Brahmins:—

From 4 to 11 Rupees.

IX.—*Khoorlee*, or feasting the marriage party on the evenings of the second and third day after their arrival at the bride's residence.

From 20 seers to 2 maunds pukka, or from 1 maund and 10 seers, to 5 maunds, kutcha weight.

X.—*Rooksutana* (or presents on the dismissal of the marriage party on the fourth day).

Khuruch khut (or dowry) to consist of jewels, apparel, household utensils, bedstead and stool, according to the circumstances in life of the bride's parents, and to be regulated by the advice of the Punches and the orders of Government:—

Cash ... ... from 21 to 125 Rupees.

Expenditure to be incurred by the bridegroom's parents.

I.—*Rooksut Shugoon*, or presents in lieu of the Shugoon (for which *see* No. 1 of the above detail).

Cash to the Shugoon bearer ... ... Rs. 1-8.

Feasting ditto (with food of the best description) for 3 days.

Charity to Brahmins and "Luwahuks," family menials.

II.—*Rooksutana.*—Saha Chittee and Lugun (or presents in lieu of the Saha Chittee and Lugun).

(For Saha Chittee and Lugun See No. II. of the above detail.)

On the occasion of the Saha Chittee cash to the bearer thereof Rs. 2-8, dried fruits, 5 to 10 seers.

Ghatee cloth (linen manufactured at Rahoon, a town in the Julundhur District), with cash from 1 to 4 Rupees, or instead cash 4 Rupees.

Misree (sugar-candy) ... ... 5 Seers.

On the occasion of the Rooksut Lugun, cash from 7 to 11 Rupees.

Dried fruits and cloth, double the quantity sent in lieu of the Saha Chittee.

III.—*Vara*, or distribution of alms to beggars, by the bridegroom's parents on leaving the bride's family residence, to be discontinued.

IV.—*Hujamán*—Presents to Naees (barbers) who come to demand charity on the above occasion to be discontinued.

V.—Presents to "Dhianees," or girls of the village or town to be discontinued, but Dhianees of the caste to get 4 annas each.

VI.—*Khurch Shuhr*, or village expenses, to be regulated by the advice of the Punches from one and a quarter to 7 Rupees.

Signed by numerous Chowdrees and Punches.

APPENDIX L.

Translation of the Agreement entered into by the Sureen Khuttrees of Lahore, Umritsur, Baeroowal, Sreehurgovindpoor, Butala, Khudoorjee and Goindwal, &c.

We, the above Khuttrees, consulting our own welfare and position in life, have, by general consent, determined upon the following scale of expenditure to be incurred on the marriages of girls among us, which shall, on no account, be deviated from :—

Rusoom ceremonies and customs which have been agreed upon to remain in force.

Rusoom, or presents to be made by the bride's parents :—

	Amount to be incurred by persons of the 1st Class.			Amount to be incurred by persons of the 2nd Class.			Amount to be incurred by persons of the 3rd Class.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Lugun (see No. 12 of Appendix R.)	51	0	0	11	0	0	1	0	0
Vidaeegi (ditto No. 18.)............	125	0	0	51	0	0	11	0	0
	Md.	Sr.	Ch.	Md.	Sr.	Ch.	Md.	Sr.	Ch.
Sheereenee (Sweetmeats, puka weight.)	5	0	0	2	20	0	0	10	0
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Milnee—on the day of betrothal (see No. 11 of Appendix R.)......	11	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	0
	Md.	Sr.	Ch.	Md.	Sr.	Ch.	Md.	Sr.	Ch.
Buteree (see No. 13 of do.) pukka weight ...	7	0	0	2	20	0	0	10	0
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Suman (ditto No. 15 of ditto)........	1	0	0	0	8	0	0	4	0
Vedee (ditto No. 16 of ditto).........	21	0	0	11	0	0	1	0	0
Milnee on the day of marriage (see No 14 of Appendix R.)............	11	0	0	5	0	3	1	0	0
Chouck Puranda (head ornament of gold)	25	0	0	5	0	0	2	0	0

	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Jora (a suit of clothes)	5 0 0	2 0 0	1 0 0
Tabulbaz (a large octagonal cup of a metal called kansee)	11 0 0	5 0 0	1 0 0
Present to the bridegroom on the occasion of the Lugun...	21 mohurs.	5 boodkees	1 0 0
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Vurhee (see No. 17 of Appendix R.)	11 0 0	5 0 0	1 0 0
Miscellaneous expenses	10 0 0	5 0 0	1 0 0
Dowry.—Jewels, clothes, bedstead, stool, and household utensils ...	According to the circumstances of the bride's parents.		
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A P
Khurch Rusoee, Wabustgan, or feasting relatives; Lag, or fees to Lagees (attendants), and other charges according to established usage	132 0 0	66 0 0	25 0 0

Rusoom, or charges to be incurred by the bridegroom's parents:—

On account of dancing and music, once only.

Ditto Atusbazee, or fireworks, excepting Huwaee (a peculiar species of fireworks) on account of jewels and clothes for the bride.

"Khurch shuhur," or town expenses, as follows:—Among persons of the 1st Class ... ... Rs. 7 0 0

Ditto ditto 2nd Class ... „ 5 0 0

Ditto ditto 3rd Class ... „ 1 0 0

Rusoom, or customs, to be discontinued. Alms to Fukeers, Dakhila or Soth, Domes, Mirasees and, on the arrival of the marriage party, at the villages of the bride.

The payments of one rupee to all the girls in the village to be discontinued; but the girl's Biraduree (*i. e*) (of the Sureen tribe), descended from a common ancestor, to get one rupee each, as heretofore.

Signed by numerous Sureens.

APPENDIX M.

Agreement entered into by the Khuttrees of Kusba Butala, Zila Goordaspoor, laying down the scale of Expenditure to be incurred on marriages of girls.

I.—*Milnee,* from 1 to 11 Rupees. ... ... In lieu of from 21 to 250 Rs. hitherto expended.

II.—*Vidaeegi* from 11 to 125 Rupees ... ... In lieu of from 100 to 3,100 Rs. hitherto expended.

III.—*Teeka* (the custom of marking the forehead of the bridegroom with saffron or sandal) from 11 to 51 Rupees cash ...	In lieu of 700 Rupees.

Besides the following articles, *viz.* :—

Tewurs ... ... $2\frac{1}{2}$ suits.

Jewels for the bridegroom and his mother, from 11 to 100 Rs. in value.

One suit of clothes for the bridegroom.

IV.—*Dakila* and *Vara*, both these customs to be discontinued.

V.—*Bhajee* to be distributed only to those among the Biraduree with whom the interchange of this custom may be usual, and not to all the people of the city or village.

VI.—*Zeafut* Biraduree.—Feasting the caste people, to be limited with reference to the circumstances in life of the party.

VII.—*Atusbazee* allowable, with the exception of *Huwaee* and *Golah*.

VIII.—*Brumbhoj* after the celebration of the nuptials according to established usage, and with reference to the circumstances of the party.

Dukshna, or presents in cash to Brahmins on the occasion of the Brumbhoj, to be from 4 Pice to one Rupee each, but to depend on the pleasure of the party, who may, or may not give the Brumbhoj.

IX.—Betrothals not to be cancelled, unless either the bride or bridegroom be subsequently discovered to be lame, dumb, blind, lunatic, or afflicted with leprosy or epilepsy, or to be of an inferior or degraded caste.

X.—Bedees of pure lineage may marry their daughters among the Boonjaee Khuttrees; those of mixed blood marrying where they may properly do so among persons of the same class.

XI.—No person to give his daughter in marriage for a pecuniary consideration.

The above clauses have been unanimously determined upon and agreed to by us. We shall, however, always submit to the wishes of Government.

(Signed by Raee Raee Sing, and certain other Khuttrees of Butala.)

Abstract of outlay to be incurred on marriages (exclusive of the Brumbhoj) :—

Among persons of the first class (of substance and importance)	Rs.	1,125
Ditto ditto 2nd class, (persons of less consequence than the above)	"	600
Ditto ditto 3rd class (persons in lower circumstances)	"	325
Ditto ditto 4th class (poor shop-keepers, &c.)	"	125

APPENDIX N.

Translation of an Agreement entered into by the Punches of Kusba Wuzeerabad, Zila Goojranwala.

Major Clarke, the Deputy Commissioner of Goojranwala, having informed us of the wishes of the British authorities regarding the suppression of Infanticide and the limiting of expenditure incurred on occasions of marriages, we hereby submit, for approval, the following arrangements which have been unanimously determined upon by us:—

Arrangements for the suppression of Infanticide.

The crime of Infanticide has been completely suppressed in Zila Goojranwala, since the issue of the first order prohibiting it. The stringent orders now repeated on the subject are cheerfully received by us. Should any person commit this dreadful crime, he will surely suffer punishment for it.

Bedees or pure caste may, with propriety, marry their daughters among the Bhoonjaee Khuttrees.

Those who are not of pure blood may marry where they properly can, among persons of the same class as themselves.

Some persons influenced by sordid motives re-betroth their daughters already affianced to a person who has paid money for her to a second party for a larger sum of money; this practice should be discouraged and an order issued prohibiting all matrimonial alliances on the part of the parents of girls for pecuniary considerations as being tantamount to selling into slavery.

In some classes, such as Bhoonjaees and others, a betrothal is liable to be cancelled, if the intended bridegroom be subsequently found to be laboring under certain diseases and natural infirmities mentioned in the Shastra, as justifying the breaking up of an alliance, *viz.*, lameness, dumbness, lunacy, humpback, impotency, epilepsy, and loss of sight, and for no other reasons should any person be allowed to set aside an alliance once contracted.

Persons of pure caste not to intermarry with those of a degraded or disreputable caste.

Rusoom (customs) connected with marriage, involving expenditure:—

I.—The custom hitherto observed among rich influential people, of throwing money to the poor and beggars, on the arrival of the marriage procession at the bride's residence, to be altogether discontinued as well as that of dakila.

II.—*Vara* (or the custom of distribution of alms by the bridegroom on the marriage party leaving the bride's house) to be also discontinued.

All other expenses connected with marriages to be incurred with reference to the circumstances in life of both parties, so as to preclude the necessity of their falling in debt.

The Bhajee to be limited with reference to the circumstances of the party, and to be sent only to those from whom it may have been received and not distributed to all the town's people.

The usual Zeafut given on the occasion of marriage (feasting the Biraduree) to be regulated with reference to the circumstances of the party.

Atusbazee (excepting the Hawaee and Golah), according to the circumstances of the party.

Tamasha (dancing and music parties), on the occasion of marriage, to be given by men of rank and distinction twice.

Ditto by the Punches and men in service, once. By poor people and shop-keepers not at all.

Dhul (or charity to Brahmins living in the town where the bride's parents reside) to depend on the pleasure of the bridegroom's parents; if given, to be at the rate of one Dhul* for each party.

Chool, or presents to be distributed by the bridegroom, to the inhabitants of the town in which he resides, before the celebration of the nuptials.

Brumbhoj, to be according to the circumstances of the party.

Signed by the Punches of Wuzeerabad and by Rutun Chund Doogul, Dewan Thakoordas, and other principal inhabitants of that place.

APPENDIX O.

Scale of outlay to be incurred on marriages (exclusive of Brumbhoj, Dhul, Jewels and Clothes for the Bride) in the District of Goojranwala and in the Towns of Wuzeerabad, Hafizabad, Emeenabad, Jundeeala, Shadra and Sheikhoopoora, which has been agreed to by the Punches and most of the principal inhabitants of those places:—

Among persons of the 1st class			... ...	Rs.	500
Ditto	ditto	2nd class	... ...	„	300
Ditto	ditto	3rd class	... ...	„	100

Signed and sealed by the Punches of the above places, and by most of the principal residents of the District, such as Dewans Joala Suhaee, Huree Chund, Thakoordass, Kirparam, and Lala Rutun Chund Doogul, &c., &c.

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* Dhul is the Hindee word for threshold, and it is customary among Hindoos on occasions such as marriages, &c., to distribute money to Brahmins, or certain other classes residing in a particular place, at so much per "dhul" or family.

APPENDIX P.

Translation of an Agreement entered into by the Kakezaees of Umritsur.

At a meeting held on the 29th October 1853 for reducing the extravagant outlay incurred on marriage ceremonies, we, all the people of the Biraduree, both great and small, do hereby, of our own free will and pleasure, lay down the following scale of expenses by which we shall in future be guided, and any person exceeding the limit herein fixed will be expelled from caste and held liable to punishment:—

Written on the 31st October 1853.

Scale of expenses to be incurred by the bridegroom's parents:—

Gold and silver ornaments	Rs.	100
Five suits of clothes	„	60
Feasting the Biraduree	„	40
Bhajee	„	20
Miscellaneous expenses	„	25
Total	„	245

Scale of expenses to be incurred by the bride's parents:—

Bhajee	Rs.	20
Choba or feasting the females of the Biraduree ...	„	25
Five suits of clothes	„	20
Cash	„	5
Miscellaneous expenses	„	5
		75
Feasting the marriage party	Rs.	25

Dowry.

Apparel, consisting of 25 suits	Rs.	50
Cooking utensils and bedstead	„	20
Gold and silver ornaments	„	100
Miscellaneous expenses	„	5
		175
Grand Total ...	Rs.	500

Should any person spend less than the above scale, he will incur no reproach among the brotherhood, and any one taunting him for so doing will be treated as an offender.

Signed by numerous Kakezaees of Umritsur.

APPENDIX Q.

Translation of a Petition from the Punchayeet of Sree Hurgobindpoor.—Dated 31st October, 1857.

After respects (the Punchayeet) express their concurrence with the arrangements agreed upon by all the Punches regarding the expenditure to be incurred on marriage ceremonies.

Signed by the Punchayeet and Mootsudee Mul, Kanoongo of Sree Hurgobindpoor.

APPENDIX R.

Explanation of terms applied to the various Ceremonies and Customs (Rusoom) observed among the Hindoo Communities of the Towns of Lahore, Umritsar, and other places in the Punjab, on occasions of Betrothals and Marriages.

No.	Designation of Rusoom, Ceremony or Custom.	Castes among whom observed.	Explanations.
1	Bhajee.	All denominations of Khuttrees (with the exception of Sureen and Khookraun) and the Brahmins of Lahore and Umritsur.	Present in cash and food made by the parents of the intended bride to those of the intended bridegroom on the day of betrothal, "Koormaee."
2	Purshad Teerut.		Presents exchanged between the parents of betrothed children, on their return home from certain places of pilgrimage, *viz.*, the shrine of Laloo Jusrae at Depalpoor, in the Futehpoor Googaira District, the Ganges at Hurdwar, and the Temples of Daveejee (the Godess Doorgah) at Kangra and Joala Mookee, and of "Beshnow Devee" in the Jumoo Territory. The Purshad generally consists of toys from Depalpur, Choonees, Purnas (colored covering sheets and other clothing) from Hurdwar, &c.
3	Yugeopuweet	As is preceding.	Money is sent by the parents and relatives of the intended bride to the bridegroom, on the occasion of Yugeopuweet, or investiture with the Sacred Thread, ("Juneoo") or Junyoo, which generally takes place between the betrothal and the celebration of the nuptials.

No.	Designation of Rusoom, Ceremony or Custom.	Castes among whom observed.	EXPLANATIONS.
4	Budaee (Congratulation)	As is preceding.	Presents in food and cash by the bride's parents to the bridegroom on the day of betrothal, sometime after it, or in some instances on the day of marriage. These presents are sent for two successive days. Those sent on the first day are called "Budaee," and those on the second day "Beyee Budaee."
5	Milnee (Meeting)	Ditto ditto.	The parents and other relatives of the betrothed girl go and see those of the intended bridegroom at the house of the latter, and make them certain presents in food and cash. See following Nos. 6 and 7. The Milnee takes place a few days before the marriage.
6	Mutta Tekun, (Bowing down the forehead.)	Ditto ditto.	Presents in cash made by the bride's parents to the father and paternal and maternal grandfathers of the bridegroom on the day of Milnee.
7	Dhung.	Ditto ditto.	Food sent by the bride's parents on the day of Milnee, consisting of "Pinnee" and "Muttee" and Duhae, coagulated milk. The "pinnees" are balls made of parched wheat, mixed in goor and ghee. Muttees are large cakes of wheat flour fried in ghee.
8	Uloofa or Buteree.	Ditto ditto.	A supply of wheat flour, sugar and goor sent by the bride's parents to those of the bridegroom a fews days before the marriage.
9	Lagand Bhrumbhoj,	Ditto ditto.	Lag consists of the fees paid by the parents of betrothed children to their family priests, barbers, &c.; and Brumbhoj is the feasting of Brahmins by the parties at their respective houses a short time before the celebration of the nuptials.
10	Duhaj or Duhez.	Ditto ditto.	Dowry to the bride by her father, which generally consists of household furniture and utensils, apparel, jewelry, &c.
11	Milnee (of female relatives.)	Sureen Khuttrees.	The personal interview of the females of the intended bride and bridegroom's families on the day of the betrothal.
12	Lugun.	Sureen Khuttrees.	This ceremony consists in fixing a day for the celebration of the nuptials. The parents of the betrothed girl send for the horoscope (Junumputree) of the intended bridegroom and show it to an astrologer, who fixes a propitious day, which is intimated to the bridegroom's friends by a letter (lugun putr or Saha chitee), accompanied by presents in cash and food from the bride's parents. In these

No.	Designation of Rusoom, Ceremony or Custom.	Castes among whom observed.	EXPLANATIONS.
			presents are included a "Tabulbaz," or large octagonal cup of a metal called kansee, filled with sugar, and a "chouk puranda," or head ornament, for the bridegroom's mother. The bridegroom sends a chouk puranda in return for the bride.
13	Buteree.	Sureen Khuttrees.	Provisions (ata, goor, &c.) supplied by the bride's parents to the "Jung" or marriage party on its near approach to their residence.
14	Milnee (of male relatives).	Ditto.	Personal meeting of the male relatives of the bride and bridegroom on the day of celebration of the nuptials, when the former make presents to the latter in cash.
15	Suman.	Ditto.	Presents in cash made by the relatives of the bride to the family barbers and other menials of the bridegroom, and *vice versa*, on the occasion of the Milnee.—No. 14.
16	Vedee.	Ditto.	Presents by both parties to the Brahmins and family priests (Prohits).
17	Vuree.	Ditto.	Presents of dried fruits, spices, (such as cinnamon, cloves, &c.), safron and henna (country myrtle), apparel and jewels made by the bridegroom to the bride's family immediately after the celebration of the nuptials and before the dismissal of the marriage party by the latter.
18	Vidaegee, or Rooksutana.	Ditto.	Presents in cash made by the bride's family on the occasion of the marriage party taking leave of them.
19	Khurch, Rusoee, or Jeewunhar.	Ditto.	Feasts given by both parties to friends, relatives, &c., who attend the wedding.

CUSTOMS OBSERVED AFTER THE CELEBRATION OF THE NUPTIALS.

20	Kurwa Chouth.	Observed generally by all classes of Khuttrees and Brahmins, especially those of Lahore and Umritsur.	Presents in food sent by the bridegroom to the bride on the fourth day of Ussoo (September), a Hindoo festival, and in the year in which the nuptials have been celebrated.
21	Booga.	As in preceding (No. 20.)	Presents in food sent by the bride's parents to the bridegroom on the 4th Magh (January) in the year in which the nuptials have been celebrated.

APPENDIX S.

List of the different classes of Khuttrees in the Punjab.

I.—BHAJEE.

Tooloee.
Putputye.
Mehte.
Chandee
Chandee-Hook.
Ch'ach'han.
Bhundare.
Kach'hur.
Khotee.
Rikhee.
Thapur.

Soyeen.
Sawunnee.
Sonee.
Makun.
Mydroo.
Berrure.
Choudhree.
Loombe.
Seygul.
Ap Surathee.
Kutial.
Ghandee.
Eoberae.
Suchchur.
Nuude.
Budhawun.
Budyre.
Mhurum.
Cynee.

Pooree.
Butoore.
Seekhre.
Lambe.
Mahnee.
Dhul—Live at Oulup, in Perguna Sheikhoopoora, Zila Goojranwala. It is customary among these to take money for their daughters.
Lukhoomre.
Tandoo.
Pusreeche.
Bhumbree.
Rundheer.
Passee.
Nundrajog.
Vijj.
Mudhook.
Oopul.
Sarne.
Sahee.
Khundpoor.
Goolatye.
Nujawun.
Burur.
Asee.
Basun.
Buhl.

Hande.
Choojur.
Koure.
Butee.
Gheyee.
Tunnun.
Jooarchub.
Phooleechub.
Chumoone.
Hudd.
Mas.

Nareehok.
Dhudul.
Naree Ved.
Sikke.
Ch'hoore.
Boodwar.
Bambe.
Khoolur.
Bedee.
Kunwaree.
Munnee.
Soptee.
Vigg.
Buzas.
Kooruch'h.
Mugoo.
Jute.
Mengee.
85 Churkhe.

II.—SUREEN.

High Class of Sureen.
1 Nuyur.
Khosle.
Kupanee.
Bhula.
5 Murwaya.

1 Kansree.
Bisumbhoo.
Choodee.
Umb.
Kureer.

1 Kuher.
Trihoon.
Buhl.
Buhbhoote.
5 Moorghaee.
Koondra.
Kumra.
Oure.
10 Sonhee.
Khoolur.
Pooree.
12 Jeoor.

1 Sohnee.
Juyee.
Dusun.
Awut.
5 Dhoossa.
Jummoo.
Gheyee.
Joolkee.
Soohree.
10 Mynrae.
Mullhun.
Buzaz.
Rera.
Subhikhee.
15 Such'chur.
16 Booch'chur.

Bussee.
Vusesee.
Ubbhee.
Busuntraee.
10 Singharee.
Kudd.
Kesur.
Oomut.
Loombe.
15 Lumb.
Kupaee.
Puthree.
Hudd.
Chumm.
20 Kulsia.
Khotle.
Ghoommun.
Bulleat.
Surpal.
25 Chirke.
Mullhee.
27 Myndroo.

III.—Baree.

Charjatee ... { Kupoor, Mirboutree, Seth, Khuna } Original and superior classes.

Chopre.
Muhte.
Talwar.

Vouhre.
Dhoun.
...

Seygul.
Kukur.
...

IV.

Khookrayun, residing chiefly in Bhyra, Kooshub, Dhune Gheb, Chukkewal, Pind Dadun Khan, Peshawur, Noushara, &c., and a few families at Lahore.

Unund.
Bhuseen.
Sahnee.

Chude.
Sooree.
Sethee.

Kolee.
Sabhurwal.
Usree.

V.

Punj-Jatee at Lahore and Umritsur.

Vahee.
Beree.

Vijj.
Seygul.

Buhl.
...

No. 134 of 1852.

From

Major H. B. Edwardes, c. b.,

Deputy Commissioner, Julundhur,

To

D. F. McLeod, Esquire,

Commr. and Supdt., Trans-Sutlej States.

Julundhur, 30th June 1852.

Sir,—I have the honor to reply to your Circular, No. 1769, of 31st December 1851, on the subject of suppressing Infanticide, and to express my regret that I could not sooner do so satisfactorily.

Judicial.

2nd.—As pointed out by you, the Settlement Officer's census might be expected to afford the best possible basis for the enquiry instituted by the Board of Administration. But on examination it was found that the census made no distinction between male and female children, so that it could only serve as a guide to a fresh investigation, which has been now made through the Putwarees, each being called on to give a return of the children of all the villages in his circle, distinguishing their sexes and tribes.

3rd.—It is obvious that a work of this nature and extent, in addition to the current duties of the village accounts, could not be executed quickly; and it has only been with much pressing that I have now extracted the returns annexed to this letter. I must add that I regret extremely the time that has been devoted to this purpose; for the more carefully I look at the result, the less confidence I feel inclined to place in its general details of children. But of this more anon.

4th.—Meanwhile the past practice and present feeling of the people has been sought and obtained in the friendly spirit enjoined by you; and I have the greatest pleasure in reporting that general gratitude has been expressed by all classes except the Bedees at the attention of Government being directed to deep-seated evils, which can only be eradicated by Government interposition.

5th.—To exhibit the results of the inquiry in this district, it is necessary to arrange them, first, under the simple heads of Hindoo and Mahomedan races, and divide the Hindoos into sections: 1*st*, Bedees, and, 2*ndly*, all other Hindoos.

6th.—I said above that the Bedees alone were not grateful for this Government interference; but it should be added that they do not oppose it, and are already resolved to yield to the pressure of the times

and abandon their inhuman custom of Female Infanticide. Hence there has been no reluctance to speak openly about it, confess the past, and face the necessities of the future.

7th.—At the risk of repeating traditions with which you are too well acquainted, I must here give the Bedees' own account of the origin of Infanticide in their tribe, because, true or false, it embodies and perpetuates the popular feeling regarding it.

8th.—They say that the practice was first enjoined upon their tribe by Dhurm Chund, Bedee, grandson of Baba Nanuk. He had two sons named Mihr Chund and Nanuk Chund, and one girl, who at the proper age was espoused to the son of a Khuttree, as was then the custom of the Bedees. When the bridegroom's procession reached the house of Dhurm Chund the door was found too narrow to admit the litter on which the boy was carried; and the riotous attendants, with more than the usual license of the occasion, proceeded to widen it by force. The incensed Bedee prayed "that the threshold of the Khuttree tribe might, in like manner, come to ruin;" and the nuptial rites were celebrated amidst mutual ill-feeling. When the bridegroom and his party were departing, the two sons of Dhurm Chund, as in duty bound, accompanied them to give them "rooksut." The weather was hot, the party out of temper, and they took a malicious pleasure in taking the young Bedees further than etiquette required. When the lads returned home footsore, Dhurm Chund asked if the Khuttrees had not bid them turn back sooner; the boys said "No;" and it was then that the old man, indignant at all the insults which the bridal of his daughter had drawn down upon him from an inferior class, laid the inhuman injunction on his descendants that "in future no Bedee should let a daughter live." The boys were horror-stricken at so unnatural a law, and with clasped hands represented to their father that to take the life of a child was one of the greatest sins in the Shastras. But Dhurm Chund replied "that if the Bedees remained true to their faith, and abstained from lies and strong drink, Providence would reward them with none but male children. But, at any rate, let the burden of the crime be upon his neck, and no one else's;" and from that time forth Dhurm Chund's head fell forward upon his chest, and he ever more walked like one who bore an awful weight upon his shoulders.

9th.—With consciences thus relieved, the race of Bedees continued for 300 years to murder their infant daughters, and if any Bedee, out of natural feeling, preserved a girl, he was excommunicated by the rest, and treated as a common sweeper.

10th.—Through the mists of this story it seems clear that religious pride, and horror of giving a daughter to an inferior caste, and not pecuniary considerations, first led the Bedees to adopt the custom of Female Infanticide. For throughout the East I believe it is the principle of matrimonial alliances that girls marry their equals or

superiors, and boys their equals or inferiors in rank. This placed the descendants of the great Sikh teacher on the horns of a dilemma, either to abandon their high pretensions or else get rid of the difficulty by murdering their daughters.

11*th*.—What still further proves that the motive to Infanticide was religious and not pecuniary is the fact that, in consequence of the Bedees having no daughters to give to the Khuttrees in exchange, they were compelled to adopt the singular custom of giving dowries with their sons, to enable them to marry Khuttrees' daughters. Notwithstanding this obvious purchase, the Bedees prided themselves so highly on receiving wives from the Khuttrees, that as a mark of their own superiority they never allowed a Khuttree to smoke from the same hooka. How characteristic of the two races this choice between dignity* and gain!

12*th*.—It is difficult to imagine how the parents of a whole class could so systematically stifle the yearnings of nature as to carry out the murderous injunction of their early teachers; and I questioned some Bedees closely upon the actual mode of their Infanticide. They said that when a Bedee mother was delivered of a child the nurse communicated to the family outside the "purda" whether it was a boy or girl. If a son, great were the congratulations; but if a daughter, the mother turned her face to the wall, well knowing the sentence that awaited her offspring; and the silence of disappointment was soon broken by the elder matrons of the family commanding the nurse to put the child to death. Various were the ways in which this order was executed; sometimes the nurse stopped the infant's breath in a few moments with her hand, but oftener the object was effected by neglect; by exposing the babe in winter on the cold floor, and in summer by aggravating heat. And as one of my informants remarked, "You see, Sir, they are but poor little things, and a puff of wind puts them out."

13*th*.—It is commonly believed among the people that on these occasions the Bedees go even a step further in brutality, burying the corpse with a piece of "goor" between the lips, and a twist of cotton in the hand, and reciting this couplet:—

> "Goor khaien, pownee kutteen;
> Ap na aieen; bhayan ghulleen."
>
> *i. e.*, "Eat your goor, and spin your thread,
> But go and send a boy instead."

The Bedees deny this, but are not offended at the quotation; and one of them corrected me in rehearsing it, and explained its meaning.

14*th*.—Thus Female Infanticide is candidly admitted by the Bedees themselves to have been their all but universal practice under Sikh rule. One single exception is known in the District; a Bedee named Punjab Sing of Mookundpoor, near Bungeh, who, being an edu-

* The followers of Nanuk are not forbidden the use of tobacco like those of Govind.

cated man and well read in the religion of his own tribe, declared that the Grunth contained no authority for the custom, and preserved two daughters that were born to him. For this he was excommunicated by Baba Bikrama Sing, the head of the Bedees, and all but his own family treated him as a sweeper, throwing to him, from a distance, money, or anything else they had occasion to give him.

15*th*.—The eldest of these girls is now eight years old, and is married to the son of a Sugee Khuttree at Nawashuhur; but it is observable that no household work is exacted from her on account of her sacred character, which puts in a very practical and credible light the objection which Major Lake mentions that the Khuttrees entertain to marrying the daughters of their Gooroo. Men who find their ideas of a god embodied in a cow may be excused if they expect every member of their family to pay for their keep.

16*th*.—It is now solemnly affirmed by the Bedees that from the very beginning of British rule Female Infanticide was checked, and is now almost extinguished.

17*th*.—And in this particular district the apprehension entertained of the disclosures that would be made by the census of the Revenue Settlement brought home the prospect of legal punishment to every Bedee family.

18*th*.—The result, as shewn by the census appended to this report, which in regard to this small tribe tallies with universal opinion and observation, is that there are now at least 23 female children of Bedees in the Government Purgunna of this district, where formerly, under Sikh rule, there were only 2. All but 2 of these are under four years of age, *i. e.*, have been born since the annexation of the Julundhur Doab. To these are to be added about twenty-five in the Alloowala Rajah's Purgunna of Phugwara; so that nearly 50 daughters have been preserved by less than 300 Bedee fathers in this district during the last four years.

19*th*.—This is an undeniable statistical fact, which gives value to what I have next to state—that all the Bedees with whom I have conversed have assured me that the necessity of abandoning the practice of Female Infanticide is now fully recognised among them; and that a great agitation is at this moment going on in the tribe for the authoritative establishment of a scale of dowries for the Bedee daughters.

20*th*.—They calculate that Dera Nanuk contains 500 Bedee houses, 1,800 souls, and that their next great stronghold is Phugwara in this district, where there are said to be 106 houses, or 300 souls, which in their ideas, I fancy, means 300 males, for the wives of Bedees are necessarily of other castes. Nearly that number are also scattered in villages about Bungeh, and some few in the adjoining villages of Hoosheearpore. Thus we are in a position here to ascertain the feelings of the Bedee tribe beyond a doubt; and it appears that they are divided

into two parties, the smallest but wealthiest of which desire that the Sureens be permanently chosen as the branch of Khuttrees* with whom Bedee girls shall intermarry; while the majority and poorest of the Bedees wisely demand the selection of the Bhoonjaees.

21*st.*—Out of one or other of these two great branches (as I shall explain more fully in the "Khuttree" portion of this report) sprung all the other thousand sprigs of the great Khuttree family. The Sureens to a remarkable extent have been most eminent in the history of the race, and still remain most wealthy; the Bhoonjaees are greatly more numerous, but are poorer and less ambitious. The Bhoonjaees, in consequence of their humbler means, have always had strict laws as to marriage gifts, dowries, and expenses; whereas the Sureens are reproached with having no such rules, and not only squandering their own wealth in foolish attempts to out-do each other in the magnificence of their bridals, but also setting an evil example, and causing heart-burnings, and bringing the prudent laws of the Bhoonjaees into contempt. The feeling is embodied in the following verse:—

"Suk-Seyneh Kayuth Bora, Kuttree bora Sureen,
Dasee soot Bramin bora, Puthan bora Tureen."

i. e., among Kayuth the Suk-Seyneh is one of least esteemed among Khuttrees, the Sureen, among Bramins, the son of a slave girl, and among Puthans, the Tureen.

22*nd.*—If therefore the Bedees decided now for intermarriage with the Sureen, the whole tribe will be launched for ever into this ruinous rivalry; whereas if they choose the Bhoonjaees, the contracting parties will meet on equal terms, and be mutually strengthened by the alliance.

23*rd.*—The question is of vital importance to the tribe of Bedees, and the argument used by the majority is this:—"After murdering our daughters for 300 years, we are compelled by our rulers to abandon the custom imposed on us by our prophets. In doing so, let us take steps to make the innovation at all events successful. Let us not put it in the power of our enemies to say that no good has come of our deserting the old paths. Under the Sikhs, we were a sacred race, honored, and wealthy. In the eyes of the English, a Bedee and a Bhungee are equal. Our jageers are lapsing day by day, and no gifts and offerings are coming in. We shall be poorer and poorer year after year. Why, therefore, attempt to vie with the Sureens, which only a few of us can afford? Let us sink at once to the level of the Bhoonjaees, which the poorest of us can maintain."

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* The Bedees in fact are a branch of the Bhoonjaee Khuttrees, and existed long before Nanuk orginated the Sikh religion. There are to this day numerous Bedees who have no connection whatever with the Sikhs.

24th.—Another strong argument on the side of the majority is that Baba Nanuk himself was a Bhoonjaee Khuttree.*

25th.—The question must shortly be decided by a Punchayeet at Phugwara, where Baba Sohun Sing Bedee is preparing to betroth his daughter, and, as he is a man of influence, the course now pursued by him is expected to become a precedent.

26th.—Opinions are being carefully collected, and it is believed that the majority will carry their point; but I shall await the result with interest.

27th.—As an indication of the change going on, I am told that the Bedees and Khuttrees now smoke from the same hooka.

28th.—I have been thus particular in detailing the points at issue, because I think they will convey to you the gratifying assurance, which I feel myself, that, as far as the Bedee class is concerned, the mere general spirit of our legislation and administration, without any direct effort, has sufficed to give a death-blow to Infanticide, by breaking up the universal obligation of its practice, making it a shameful felony instead of a proud distinction, and letting nature in to speak in her own voice to the human heart. The great Indian difficulty of inducing some to abandon the customs of their ancestors and adopt new ones has been overcome; and every deserter from the old ways and every female child that is reared increases the separation of interests, and adds to the impossibility of long maintaining Infanticide as an article of Bedee faith.

29th.—While, however, we see with pleasure that this movement has been originated by the Bedees themselves, as a voluntary concession to the spirit of our government, and is certain ultimately to work out its own ends, even if left alone, yet humanity requires that, when our

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* This point is of course disputed by the Sureens, who have diffused the following verses to prove that Nanuk was a Sureen :—

1st.

Bhula booron se hot by,
Kurta krippa jub-keen,
Sugul chiragh, supoot mut,
Nanuk buns-i-Sureen.

2nd

Jyn jyss sungut keeyen,
Tyn jyss phul leen ;
Keylee, seep, ponung-bikh,
Boond ek ; phul teen.

TRANSLATION.

Good comes out of evil,
When it pleases the Creator.
The lamp of the world, eldest son of intellect,
Baba Nanuk, was born of Sureens.

Just according to the company into which you fall,
Will be your fruits.
In a plantain, a sea shell, a snake's mouth,
The same drop takes three different shapes.*

**i. e.*, Camphor, a pearl, and poison.

attention has once been drawn to an organized system of child murder, we should take an active part in its suppression, and for this purpose no measures seem to me more exactly suited to the nature of the case, and our own police system, than those adopted by Mr. Unwin among the Chowhans of Mynpooree, where "the watchmen are ordered to give information of the birth of a female child forthwith at the police station. A burkandaz goes to the house and sees the child; the Thanadar informs the Magistrate, upon which an order is passed, that after one month the health of the new-born child should be reported. The watchmen are further bound to give information if any illness attack the child, when a superior Police Officer (either Thanadar, Jemadar or Mohurrir) at once goes to the village, sees the child, and sends a report to the Magistrate. In suspicious cases the body of the child is sent for and submitted to the Civil Surgeon." (Article on Female Infanticide in the Doab, No. XXVIII., *Benares Magazine.*)

30*th.*—The only modification I would recommend in this arrangement is that the Thanadar should go himself and see the new-born female child, instead of a Burkandaz, as he is a more responsible person, and the Bedees are a very small tribe, and not likely to make the duty onerous. In such cases the first report is everything to a Magistrate, and the children, if at all, are generally murdered at once.

31*st.*—If the Bedees, without any special surveillance levelled at them in particular, have begun to preserve their children, it is reasonable to hope that they will entirely give up destroying them when they feel the eye of the law upon their individual homes. I have, therefore, issued orders for the measure to be forthwith adopted in this district.

32*nd.*—The encouragement to the preservation of Bedee daughters, proposed by Major Lake and modified by Mr. Barnes (*viz.*, to make perpetual tenures heritable by daughters, and life tenures extensible to daughters only) would of course add motives to good scarcely less urgent than fear of punishment.

33*rd.*—But, returning to the point which now more immediately presses on the Bedees, I believe it would tend more than anything else to promote the general preservation of their female offspring if the Board of Administration would summon a Punchayeet of chief Bedees from Dera Nanuk, and induce them to decide for intermarriage with Bhoonjaee Khuttrees, and fix such a moderate scale of marriage expenses as the poorer Bedees can adopt without injury. The same scale should apply to marriages of Bedees with Bedees, which of course may now be expected.

34*th.*—For it must be borne in mind that the Bedees have hitherto practised Infanticide for religious reasons solely. In abandoning this mark of pre-eminence, they lapse into the great Khuttree body once again; and the thing is to guard them at the outset from those expenses which often led Khuttrees to perpetuate the same crime.

35*th.*—The Bedees of Phugwara think the following would be a moderate scale:—

Cash at khut, or leave-taking ...	Rs.	101
7 Household vessels	„	30
4 Pieces of stuff	„	10
Jewels	„	50
Priest's and Barber's fees	„	10
Bara, or four day's feasting	„	50
Total ...	Rs.	251

36*th.*—Before leaving the Bedee branch of this report, I have great pleasure in bringing to your notice that the Allowala Raja has, from the beginning of our rule, earnestly endeavoured to persuade the Bedees of Phugwara to give up Infanticide; and with such good effect that, as already mentioned in para. 18, there are now about twenty-five Bedee daughters alive. A letter of thanks from the Board will doubtless stimulate.

37*th.*—On the same principle I shall send for Punjab Sing, Bedee, who had the courage to rear two female children under the Sikhs, and give him, with your permission, a khillut.

38*th.*—Secondly, I proceed to report on the remaining caste of Hindoos; and it seems probable that most of what are called respectable classes more or less practised Infanticide under the Sikhs. They did so secretly, and not to anything like the extent of the Chowhans of Hindoostan, but it was generally understood, and was sufficiently common to be no cause of reproach.

39*th.*—This at least is the candid opinion of most intelligent natives; and it would certainly be favored by our own statistical inquiries if they could be relied on. The census appended to this report shows, among all classes of Hindoos, 54,095 boys and only 44,090 girls, or nearly one-fifth less.

40*th.*—Unlike the Bedees, the mass of Hindoos were actuated exclusively by pecuniary motives. Marriage expenses had risen to such a height that either the father's fortunes or daughter's lives must too often be sacrificed. The choice lying with the fathers, they chose Infanticide in preference to beggary or wounded vanity.

41*st.*—In these parts it is not the general practice, as in Hindoostan, for the bridegroom's father to demand a dowry from the father of the bride; on the contrary, whatever the latter chooses to offer the former is in honor bound to accept. But this has not been much restraint on marriage expenses; for the bride's father thinks his honor concerned in ruining himself on this occasion.

42*nd.*—Thus daughters became family calamities, and more than one or two were seldom or never allowed to live.

43rd.—It was happily necessary to preserve one or two for this reason that to receive the " Kuneeadan " is by the inconsistent law of the Shastras a great sin, but to give it is one of the most meritorious of acts; consequently to rear a daughter and give her in marriage was necessary to every Hindoo who had ever been married himself.

44th.—" Kuneeadan," or the virgin's gift, is the water which the bride's father takes in the palm of his hand and after the Brahmins have read prayers over it pours into the hand of the bidegroom. The sin of receiving it is thenceforth on the head of the bridegroom until he has himself reared a daughter and given the same gift to others at her bridal. A Brahmin tried to explain the sin to me as consisting in this, that " Kuneeadan " is a form of " Poon," or religious gift, which none but a Brahmin should dare to receive.

45th.—In para. 41 I said it was not here the general practice to demand and dictate dowries. But there is an important exception to be made in the case of the " Lahoreens," or Khuttrees of the division called " Urhaee-ghur," or " two-and-a-half families,"—a division so closely connected with the present subject that I shall attempt to convey the explanation I have been at some pains to extract.

46th.—The Punjab is the birth-place and home of the Khuttrees; their numbers in this district are only exceeded by Juts, Chumars and Brahmins. Their " gots," or sub-divisions, have in process of time become innumerable. But all come at last under the two great divisions of Sureen and Bhoonjaee.

The Sureens have eight principal families, as follows :—

1.—Bihil.	5.—Teyhun.
2.—Bhula.	6.—Naiyur.
3.—Khosleh.	7.—Moorgahee.
4.—Murwaheh.	8.—Bhubooteh.

besides which there are inferior sub-divisions, of which one Sureen in my presence recalled the names of 100.

47th.—The Sureens intermarry on equal terms with Sodees, Bedees, and indeed all respectable Sikhs (Gooroo Shado Sing's daughter of Kurtarpoor is married to a Sureen Khuttree); But they will not intermarry on any terms with the Bhoonjaee Kuttrees, between whom and themselves there is a religious jealousy which can never be overcome.

48th.—The Sureens, as has been already stated in para. 21, have no laws regulating the expense of marriages; and they thus claim the double and heterodox license of marrying into what tribe they choose, and spending as much in dowries as they can. They are emphatically the liberals of the Khuttrees.

49th.—An agitation is now raging among themselves. The eight chief houses of Sureens, like all successful revolutionists, very early

stood aloof from their inferior brethren, who are the mass, receiving daughters from them, but not condescending to give in return. About half a year ago the mass rebelled against this assumed superiority, and re-asserted the liberal principles on which the Sureen body had separated from other Khuttrees. They insisted on giving and taking daughters amongst all Sureens on equal terms, and have actually put a stop to all betrothals with the eight chief houses until these terms are agreed to. The eight aristocracies are preparing to yield to the pressure from without.

50th.—In this district the Sureens congregate in Rahon, Kurtarpoor, Noormahal and Tulwun, and are very strong in Haosheearpoor.

51st.—In Julundhur city only one Sureen has been allowed to settle during the last sixty years, and he only on promise of adopting the customs of the Boonjaees. His name was Mootsuddee Mul, and his nephew Jora Mul is now one of the city Punch, but by the selection of a British Officer.

52nd.—It is not permitted among the Sureens to demand and dictate dowries, nor is it necessary, as the point of honor is to spend more than their neighbours. Consequently the Sureen who boasts of his liberty feels the burden of daughters just as much as other Hindoos; and, like theirs, his motives to Infanticide are limited only by the expiation of the "Kuneeadan."

53rd.—The Bhoonjaees have three chief grades of rank among themselves as follows :—

1st Grade.

The Lahoreen, or Urhaee-ghur.

1st.—Khune.	*3rd.*—Seyth.
2nd.—Murowtreh.	*4th.*—Kupoor.

2nd Grade.

The Char-ghur, or Four Houses.

1, 2, 3, 4 } Same as first grade of 2½ houses.

3rd Grade.

The Bara-ghur, or Twelve Houses.

1st.—Tundun.*	*7th.*—Sygal.
2nd.—Bahee.	*8th.*—Bhuleh.
3rd.—Bhir.	*9th.*—Bij.
4th.—Dowhun.	*10th.*—Myteh.
5th.—Jut Chopreh.	*11th.*—Kukur.
6th.—Darwar.	*12th.*—Beyree.

* Also called the Pahuree, or outsiders.

All other "gots" not included in these three grades are simply called Bhoonjaees. They are said to be countless.

54th.—The Lahoreens are the highest families of the four tribes constituting grades, and they are called the two-and-a-half houses because they do not marry either into the house of their father or any of the house of their mother with whom she has the most distant connection, which, speaking in round numbers, bars half of the mother's house. Out of the four Lahoreen houses therefore a Lahoreen girl has only two-and-a-half houses out of which to obtain a husband, and she may not be given to any Khuttree of the Char-ghur, or other inferior tribe. A Lahoreen boy in like manner has (among Lahoreens) only two-and-a-half houses out of which to choose a wife; but he is at liberty to receive a wife from any inferior tribe, because that is merely a condescension. The Char-ghur in the same way receive daughters from Bara-ghur, but do not give them, and the Bara-ghur occupy the same relative position with the mass of unclassed Bhoonjaees.

55th.—The story of the origin of the Sureen and Bhoonjaee factions among the previously united Khuttrees instructs us how difficult it is to reform the manners of a people whose every custom is an article of faith. They say that the Emperor Akbar was so struck with pity for a Khuttranee girl who by the death of a Khuttree Officer in battle was consigned to a life of widowhood that he resolved to attempt the abolition of the law against second marriages. For this purpose he summoned deputies from the Khuttrees of every town in the Punjab. The head-quarters of the Khuttrees was Mooltan, and the most influential men of the tribe there were two brothers named Lulloo and Jugdur; so that on the decision of these two men the question seemed to turn. The royal messengers used all royal persuasion, and the brothers lent a willing ear. But they said they must consult their mother, as this was a matter which concerned the women even more than the men. The old lady said she would agree on condition that another husband should be found for herself. "Why mother, you are eighty years old," said the sons, "and what would be the use of a husband of your own age?" To this she replied that "she would compound for two husbands of forty years each." The sons were abashed at these insults to the memory of their father and a proposition so opposed to their religion, but too late learnt from the reproof how easy it is to begin innovation and how difficult to check it. Many other of their fellow-citizens had listened to the royal messengers and set off for Hindoostan; and the names of Lulloo and Jugdur have become words of abuse in the mouths of Khuttrees, as the first who advised a departure from ancient rules.

56th.—When the Khuttree deputies arrived at Agra, and a day was appointed by the Emperor to receive them, all those who looked for court favor gave in their unqualified adherence, and those were ever after called Sureens. A few trimmers wished to argue the point with

the Emperor, who was fond of polemics, and indifferent to sects; these are still known as the Lahoreens. Those who wished not to appear rude and came to the Durbar, but kept silence, are the Char-ghurs. Those who would not enter the Durbar, but waited to hear the news, are the Bara-ghurs, *alias* the outsiders; and those who at the last moment turned back and returned to their homes with faith uncorrupted by the court are the mass of the Bhoonjaees.

57th.—The story ends by relating that amidst such divisions the Emperor could gain no general consent to his new law, and even the Sureens never permitted their widows to practise it.

58th.—An amusing feature of this story (which is the deep-rooted belief of every Khuttree at this day, and certainly has some foundation in fact,) is that it restores the general equilibrium of self-conceit by assigning the highest degree of religious honor to the class that is poorest in the world's esteem, and revenges the inferior "outsiders" on the two-and-half aristocracy by holding them up as only next door to the traitorous Sureens.

59th.—Now, to apply this account of the Bhoonjaee division of Khuttrees to the subject of Female Infanticide, two enormous evils have grown up out of this their constitution.

60th.—In the first place, it is the ambition of every Bhoonjaee father that his daughter should be married into the "Urhaee-ghur," which is simply impossible. It is, therefore, the privilege of the Urahee-ghur to choose on whom out of so many eager competitors their sons shall confer the honor of alliance. There then is a good marketable commodity, and the Lahoreen by all accounts makes the most of it. He employs his advantage to demand such a dowry as he thinks proper, which no other Khuttree but the Lahoreen does. Having done this, he proceeds to run it up still higher by artifice and threatened breach of agreement. He receives the first instalment and commits the bride's father to the match, but he refuses to advance another step without all kinds of entreaties and bribes, and so, step by step, threatening to break off, hiding the bride, &c., &c., he goes on protracting the time for the final ceremony until the girl's father sees her approaching the age when to be unmarried is impious and disgraceful, and never allows it to be celebrated while, to use their own expression, there is any ján, or life, left in the father-in-law's body. Here alone we see the ordinary elements of Female Infanticide which exist in marriage expenses terribly aggravated.

61st.—But it produces a second, and if possible more abominable, form of Infanticide, which perhaps would more correctly be called murder; for the Lahoreen father, still unsatisfied with having ruined one family, and seeing hundreds of other Bhoonjaee daughters aspiring to marriage with the Urhaee-ghur, too often proceeds to get rid of the poor girl he has just been paid for receiving into his family, and either

systematically starves and neglects her till she dies, or else brings about one of the thousands and one sudden accidents which would kill all children if kind parents were not at hand to save them. The vacancy thus created is immediately filled by another bride and another dowry.

62nd.—I am happy to say there are very few Lahoreen Khuttrees in Jullundhur ; but it will be seen that in the petition given in by the citizens they have gently alluded to this barbarous custom as requiring the interference of Government and proposed a regulation to restrain it.

63rd.—Having thus minutely analysed the internal condition of the great Khuttree tribe, we come inevitably to the conclusion that, whether among Sureens or Bhoonjaees, there exist customs of expense at the marriages of daughters which are intolerable to parents, and which under Sikh rule have been avoidable only by Female Infanticide. By general consent and observation this sad result has been considerably checked by the country passing under our rule and the dread of our criminal laws ; but while the cause remains uneradicated in every home we may be sure that under the surface a sad strife is going on between new laws and ancient customs, between the ruinous consequence of committing crime and the ruinous consequence of not committing it. At such a moment the interference of a benevolent Government is sure to be hailed with satisfaction, and followed by success.

64th.—What that interference should be is obvious from this exposition of the real source of the evil in all Hindoo tribes except the Bedees. It should be the authoritative publication of a well-digested standard of marriage expenses for all classes. I do not mean sumptuary laws to be enforced by Government, but sumptuary regulations drawn up by the heads of the people themselves and made generally known by Government, with their approval, for the support and assistance of all those who are too weak to stand alone. Beyond this Government should only interfere when its protection was sought from the reproaches, insults, or violence of those parasites who used to live upon marriage feasts. The more active remedies for Infanticide among the Bedees have been already suggested in paras. 29 to 35 inclusive.

65th.—With reference to the remaining Hindoo tribes it seems unnecessary after the tedious ramifications that have been shown among the Khuttrees to enter into similar detail ; for we have only to change the names of their divisions and distinctions of high and low families ; for it may be safely said of them that all suffer from the same causes in exact proportion to their class pretensions.

66th.—Thus, if we turn to the unpretending and industrious Hindoo Jats, though the census attached to this report states their girls to be only 12,487 and their boys 17,532, universal opinion assures us that no such disproportion exists, and that for the most part no

suspicion of Infanticide attaches to them. On the contrary, a Jat looks on every female as a farm labourer, and, if he be poor, when he parts with one out of his family he expects to be paid for her—not to give a dowry.

In the Cis-Sutlej all Jats are said to receive money for their daughters.

67th.—But there are self-styled superior orders of Jats scarce known in this Doab, but strong in the Manja, whose pride brings them to the same miserable shifts and crimes as the Khuttree or Brahmin; and I have heard that on Runjeet's first conquest of the country about Seralee, when the accidental discovery of a crock of gold under a Jat's door caused all the houses to be dug up in search of treasure, there was hardly one in which the bones of female children were not found buried.

68th.—Passing from the Jats to the despised Bungee, Choomar, Muzbee and Rungreta, we find them, even in the returns of the census, rejoicing in as many girls as boys; poor as they are, they can afford to let their daughters live.

69th.—It remains, thirdly, to notice the Mahomedan classes of the district, and here the excess in number of boys over girls would shew the full returns of the latter have not been made.

70th.—The female children of Musulmans are there stated to be only 38,303, while the males are 52,538; in other words, that there are one-fourth more boys than girls.

71st.—Such a disproportion could only be accounted for by Female Infanticide—a practice which I believe to be wholly repugnant to the feelings of the people, and rendered imperative by none of their religious or social obligations.

72nd.—They are inclined to be just as extravagant as Hindoos in their marriages, but then they need not marry their daughters at all if they cannot afford it; and it is notorious that on this account the daughters of the best Mahomedan families often remain unmarried to the age of thirty. The daughters of Sheiks and Saiads are usually grown up before they are married. Among Putans about half the girls are married in childhood and half in maturity. The daughters of Mahomedan Rajpoots (who, as you are aware, are very numerous in this district,) are never married young. This renegade class is quite in the hands of the Meerasees, who may be said almost to be their Peers. From the time that the Rajpoots embraced Islamism the Meerasees have fastened on them as their genealogists and masters of ceremonies, and according to their pedigrees the Meerasees arrange their alliances and order the expenditure. The result is that a Rajpootnee in these parts is seldom married till she is thirty. It is true that the large and important class of Raeens marry their daughters as early as the Hindoos, never leaving them till the age of ten; but no one who had ever walked into a Raeen village or seen a Raeen harvest would entertain the belief that daughters were a burden to that industrious people.

73rd.—Again, the custom of some Hindoos to demand dowries is altogether unknown among Mahomedans.

74th.—Therefore there does not appear to be that amount of pressure upon the Mahomedans which would lead us to suspect they practised Female Infanticide and to doubt the general assertion that they do not.

75th.—So that I deem the census, as far as the return of female children is concerned, to be below the reality, as was indeed remarked by the Settlement Officer.

76th.—And as to the aggregate number of children of both sexes in a healthy and peaceful district like this, with 366,539 adults, Hindoo and Musulman, there must be more than 189,841 children.*

77th.—In some cases also there may have been a mixture of castes with trades,—for instance, " Moolaneh," " Nekabund," &c., &c., the members of which may be of any class of Mahomedans whatever, and registered again in those classes.

78th.—It is right that I should explain that in the census the aggregate of children only was shewn, and the distribution of that aggregate into girls and boys has been made by the Putwarees in taking the new census in compliance with your wish to make the first census the basis of enquiry and comparison.

79th.—I now come to the most gratifying portion of this report, which is to lay before you the voluntary propositions of the citizens of Julundhur and Rahon for their own future restraint and benefit. They will be found in Appendices 1 and 2 to this letter, and were drawn up by the people themselves in their own homes in consultation with the females of their own families, stimulated by the opportunity afforded them by this enquiry.

80th.—You will observe that the main features of both sets of rules are similar,—the difference being chiefly this, that the rate of marriage expenses proposed at Julundhur is higher than that of Rahon, which latter is thought too low to be observed in practice.

81st.—It may help to throw light on both if I give a short explanation of the customs alluded to :—

1st.—The Lugun. This decides the rate of all the other expenses. The bride's father sends it generally in one-third cash and two-thirds property, such as horses, camels, &c., &c.

2nd.—The Milnee. If 100 rupees are spent in Lugun, then Milnee is fifty rupees, and the bride's father presents it as a nuzur when the bridegroom's procession arrives at the house and the two fathers embrace.

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* *Vide* **remarks by Settlement Officer on census returns.**

3rd.—The Beydee this is generally one-fourth or one-half more than the Milnee, or rupees sixty-two and eight annas or rupees seventy-five. It is a fee to the priest for reading Shastras over the young couple under a canopy of plantain boughs.

4th.—Meeta Bhat. For two days all sorts of sweetmeats and fruits mixed up together are set before the assembly, and all the neighbours of the same caste come and partake; but it is etiquette only to take a morsel or two. The leavings, which are very considerable, are the perquisite of the barber, who sells them to the confectioner, who retails them to anybody of any caste. Much fault is found with this custom, because, in the first place the real guests are deprived of the feast, and, in the second place, a Brahmin may thus buy and eat the leavings of a Khuttree, which is a pollution to him.

5th.—The Duheys, or, as it is called in the Punjab the "Khut,"—this is one-fourth or one-fifth more than the "Lugun," and consists of a gift of all household requisites from water vessels down to a sweeper's broom.

82nd.—I have for the present confined myself to recognizing and approving these self-made laws, and promising the citizens every support in their maintenance and protection from insult. But it seems to me that this matter should be dealt with largely by the Board of Administration, not pecked at by District Officers, who will only produce a mass of incongruous local laws. The same castes pervade the country, spring from the same root, preserve the same traditions, and have fallen into the same absurdities. No patch-work remedies will meet their case; communication is rapid throughout all the districts; matters such as these affecting class-interests are quickly spread and commented on; comparisons will be drawn between this district and that; the district of the bride and the district of the bridegroom; and the variety of rules will end in all being optional and none binding. It would be far better for the Board to digest the information furnished from the districts, and, in consultation with a grand Punchaeet, to which deputies from all districts should be invited, issue an authoritative scale of marriage fees for every class. It is the heart's desire of the people to have such sumptuary laws; and all that is wanting is to help them with all the aid of Government in meeting and legislating for themselves; universal consent will then go with the innovation.

83rd.—I fear that I have been very tedious in many of the details of this report; but am convinced that the first thing necessary in legislating for natives is thoroughly to understand their existing status, customs, prejudices and traditions. In these lies the heart of the people, and

through these only, so long as they are heathens, can they be approached with any hope of usefulness.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. EDWAREES,
Deputy Commissioner.

ZILLA JULUNDHUR,
Depy. Commr.'s Office,
3rd June 1850.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) D. F. MCLEOD,
Commr. and Supdt., Trans-Sutlej States.

No. $\frac{542}{26}$ B.

From

D. F. MCLEOD, ESQUIRE,

Commr. and Supdt., Trans-Sutlej States,

To

R. MONTGOMERY, ESQUIRE,

Judicial Commissioner, Lahore.

Camp Julundhur, dated 12th April 1853.

1.—From Major Edwardes, Deputy Commissioner of Julundhur, No. 134, dated 30th June 1850.
2.—From Major Abbott, Deputy Commissioner of Hoosheearpoor No. 91, dated 5th May 1852.
3.—From Mr. E. C. Bayley, Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Kángra, No. 80, dated 4th May 1852.
4.—From Captain Farrington, Deputy Commissioner of Julundhur, No. 108, dated 11th April 1853.

SIR,—With reference to the late Board's Circular letter, No. 60, dated 8th December 1851, and numerous subsequent reminders, ling for report on the subject of Female Infanticide, I have the honor now to forward copies of the letters noted in the margin, with their several enclosures, containing the result of the enquiries, and the opinions of the several District Officers on this subject.

2nd.—Major Edwardes's report will doubtless be considered highly interesting and valuable, and his exertions in the matter reflect, in my opinion, the highest credit on him, while they have been productive of ersults of much importance. Mr. Bayley's very voluminous report likewise indicates much painstaking and research: and Major Abbott, who is shortly about to assemble a meeting of Rajpoots, has evinced an active philanthropy and practical energy in the matter, second only to those of Major Edwardes, whose views and suggestions have been keenly entered into by his successor, Captain Farrington.

3rd.—These gentlemen have entered into all matters connected with the subject in so much detail that my own remarks may be comparatively brief and general.

4th.—I very much doubt whether any census, as yet taken, is really trustworthy. But the returns now furnished, as well as those collected by the officers of the Settlement Department, abundantly suffice to establish the correctness of the impression, heretofore prevailing, that the destruction of female infants has been extensively practised in this territory, and still prevails to a most deplorable extent.

5th.—It would be difficult or impossible to assert, from an inspection of the returns, amongst how many castes it may be unknown, and I fear there are very few amongst which there are not individuals to be found, who, impelled by the extravagant charge attending the marriage of females, stealthily destroy their female infants where they may think there is no fear of exposure. But it is certain that here as elsewhere, the class amongst whom it is the most extensively practised is that of the Rajpoots, especially those tribes which are esteemed the highest, among some of whom it would appear to be in a manner universal; and I have good reason for believing that even those Rajpoots who have been converted to Mahomedanism have not entirely relinquished the practice.

6th.—With the high-caste Rajpoots of the Kangra hills the chief actuating principle appears without doubt to be their pride of birth, taken in connexion with the unnatural sentiment so prevalent amongst Hindoos that the bestowal of a female in marriage betokens inferiority; amongst all others who may still practice it, setting aside the Bedees, the almost sole exciting cause, so far as I can learn, is the expense attending the marriage of a female.

7th.—As respects the Bedees, my conviction is very strong indeed that there has been amongst them a most remarkable and highly gratifying re-action since the accession of the British. The strenuous denunciations, warnings and threats of my predecessor on this point evidently produced a most powerful effect upon their minds, and the consequence has been that the preservation of female children amongst them has become almost universal, and although there are still undoubtedly some who endeavour to adhere to their former usage in this respect, this is done with the utmost secrecy, and is so strongly discountenanced by all the most respectable amongst their own number, that it must, I think, ere long, entirely cease, and can no longer be considered as a distinguishing characteristic of this class.

8th.—Major Edwardes mentions in his report the measures which he had adopted for having births and deaths reported amongst the children

of this class, and the following Statement exhibits the result elicited by these arrangements during the year 1852 :—

Pergunnahs.	Births.			Deaths.			Remaining.		
	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Julundhur	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1
Nakodur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Philour	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rahon	38	31	69	7	16	23	33	15	46
Total	38	32	70	7	16	23	33	16	47

And this return, though it still leaves room for suspicion and animadversion, especially as respects the large proportion of deaths of girls after their birth had been reported, differs vastly, and in a most gratifying manner, from what it would have done at the commencement of our rule, and still more before it.

9th.—In forming, however, the opinion which I have above expressed I have been guided, not so such by such statistical returns, as by the earnest feeling exhibited on the subject by the class in general, and its leaders in particular, their familiarity with the number of females born and preserved in the different families, the pride in their little girls now evinced by them, and above all, their anxiety to have arrangements made for their future marriages, to which their kindred Khuttrees have assented on the express ground that this practice has been given up.

10th.—This very remarkable and most encouraging change of feeling has, without doubt, resulted in a great measure, as already stated, from the fear instilled into them at an early period of our rule as to the certain consequences of a continuance of the practice, the shameless and even vaunting manner in which they had previously avowed it having rendered them more obnoxious to the sentiment than other classes who are likewise chargeable; but other causes have, at the same time, contributed. They are the only members of the Khuttree community by whom it has been avowedly practised, and the rest of that tribe have always condemned it; it had its commencement with them from a mere fit of indignation on the part of one of their Gooroos, and must always have been felt to be wholly opposed to the precepts and the example of their revered Nanuk; their priestly pride has been

greatly humbled, their occupation is nearly gone, their sources of income rapidly wasting away, so that nothing remains to support them against the condemnation of their fellows; and from the remarks made to me by very many of their numbers, I feel convinced that the conviction is very general amongst them that their present depressed condition has been the result of the disfavor of the Almighty, chiefly brought upon them by their adoption of this very practice.

11th.—Having offered the foregoing remarks on the extent to which this species of Infanticide at present prevails, and its causes, I shall proceed to consider the means which appear to me best calculated to suppress it.

12th.—The first point to which I would advert is the expensiveness of marriages. On this point Major Edwardes, with his characteristic energy, has already in a great measure brought about the end desired as respects the Julundhur District,—*first,* by directing his Police everywhere to afford their aid when required for preventing Meerasees, Bhats, Faqeers, and the various descriptions of beggars who are wont to throng marriage ceremonies in India, from molesting the parties engaged, or taunting them after its conclusion; and *secondly,* by inducing the principal inhabitants to give, in writing, engagements based on those executed in Mynpooree under the auspices of the present Commissioner of Lahore, binding themselves to limit the expenditure on such occasions to such sums as the several classes indicated therein can reasonably afford.

13th.—Owing to the unusual sickness of last season, and to other causes, there have been as yet but few marriages since the engagements were executed. But I have been much gratified to find that the provisions recorded in them are very cordially approved, indeed earnestly desired, by the people in general, and that the resolve is very decided strictly to abide by them, and to bring all gross importunacy to the notice of the authorities. A barber of Shakoot recently expended at Julundhur one thousand rupees on a marriage; on which the citizens, though not without some prompting, requested the Deputy Commissioner to notice the impropriety, thus evincing their desire to be supported in the enforcement of the terms agreed to, and he has accordingly acceded to their request, though reminding them at the same time that the check to such proceedings must be of a conventional rather than an authoritative character.

14th.—It is hardly to be expected, perhaps, that the public will all at once take the decided and vigorous part socially which is necessary to put an entire stop to the extravagance indulged in for centuries past. But an excellent beginning has been made, and the administration at Lahore will, I doubt not, take the matter into their own hands, and give the weight of their position and authority to the wishes which the people have as yet but faintly expressed.

15*th*.—The documents of which copies accompany Major Edwardes' Report, and to which the Bedees have subsequently given in their adhesion in the written engagement which accompanies that of Captain Farrington, afford a sufficient basis on which to found an appeal to all; but it is especially necessary that the co-operation of the leading members of native society be secured everywhere, and that the movement have a general, not a local, application. Thus it is stated that a marriage lately celebrated in the family of Raja Tej Sing was concluded at an enormous expense, and if this be continued on the part of the most distinguished, it must be difficult for their inferiors to enforce a contrary course.

16*th*.—The prevention of insolence or violence on the part of bards or beggars of any description is a matter so obviously coming within the competence and the duty of every Magisterial Officer, that it may appear hardly necessary specially to enforce it. But the matter has become so great and long established a grievance, that some general and authoritative intimation, condemnatory and prohibitive of such conduct on the part of the classes indicated appears very desirable, in order to give assurance and support to the people themselves, whose co-operation is obviously necessary, and I would urge accordingly that such be issued from the centre of authority.

17*th*.—During a discussion lately held on this subject at the Court of the young Aloowala Chief, who has throughout taken a very lively and active interest in this question, a Mahomedan Rajpoot who is one of his principal officials assured me that his own marriage had been unavoidably deferred until he was past the age of thirty, owing to his being unable to meet the necessary expenses, and more especially from terror of the Meerasees (Bards), who are especially formidable to his clan, and he evinced the most unmistakeable gratification on learning how the matter was viewed by our Government—a satisfaction which was evidently shared by all present.

18*th*.—It hence appears that the evil of extravagant expenditure and the obloquy of a humble marriage are not confined to the relations of the female: and although this view of the matter does not so directly bear on the enquiry, which is the subject of the present letter, yet it must tend to increase the difficulties of effecting the marriage of females, and thus enhance the dangers to which they are exposed at birth. It is a fact that there are thousands of adult males who are precluded from marrying solely owing to these causes, and there is I believe, in reality, no class which would not hail their removal with satisfaction.

19*th*.—The most serious point perhaps of all, however, remains to be considered, *viz.*, the pride of birth,—the most serious, that is, as res-

pects the Rajpoot tribes of the highest class in the Kangra hills, on account both of the extent of the mischief to which it leads and the difficulty of contending with it.

20th.—Various measures have been proposed with a view to induce them by the hope of advantage to surrender their prejudices. But I am not an advocate for any of these, as I do not think that in such a matter as the suppression of Infanticide, the object avowedly in view, this is the attitude which our Government should assume, and I should not look for success from their adoption.

21st.—The more I reflect on the matter, the more I feel convinced that the very first steps must be to inspire these classes with a degree of alarm which they do not as yet feel, and for this purpose I consider the taking of a correct census from year to year to be indispensable. I have accordingly, heretofore, enjoined upon all the Deputy Commissioners to require from their Putwarees each year a return, in addition to the annual returns heretofore prescribed, which is to be prepared for each village, in the form annexed to this letter, as an Appendix. The heavy demands which have been made upon these Putwarees during the past season, owing to its being the first year in which the new form of returns consequent on the revised settlement has been required of them, has precluded the possibility of procuring these at once; but they will in future be regularly supplied by them for all agricultural villages.

22nd.—These returns, when given in, are to be abstracted, either at the Tehseeldarees or in the Sudur Office, in the form shewn in the margin, and the result of this analysis cannot, I think, fail to indicate where the crime chiefly prevails, and to suggest the future measures of surveillance or coercion which it will be expedient for them to adopt.

Detail of Castes.	Numbers at the end of preceding Year.				Births or additions duing the year.				Deaths or departures during the year.				Marriages during the Year.
	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	

23rd.—In the case of the Bedees, amongst whom the practice was notorious and admitted, Major Edwardes at once established,—and I highly approved of his doing so,—a strict system of surveillance and

report, which is still continued. But as respects all other classes I should recommend that, before any be resorted to, it be generally made thoroughly understood that measures have been adopted, and will continue to be adopted, for carefully watching the progress of events in this respect, and revealing where this crime may continue to prevail; that further measures of the most decided character will be resorted to wherever it may be found necessary; and that any class persisting in this revolting practice must expect to find itself regarded with marked disfavour, and treated with the utmost severity.

24th.—In the meantime, I am about to distribute to the several Chiefs, and through the Deputy Commissioners amongst the people generally, printed copies of Mr. Raikes's address, with which that gentleman has obligingly supplied me, together with copies of the Mynpooree engagement likewise received from him, and of those entered into in the Julundhur district. I shall at the same time advert to the crime of Infanticide as being closely connected with the question of marriage, and will lose no opportunity of pressing the subject on the serious attention of the Rajpoot tribes, in which Mr. Bayley will zealously co-operate, and I doubt not that measures of a more general character and having the same object in view will be adopted by higher authorities.

25th.—It is my belief that no advantage is to be looked for from public meetings unless the path to success has been previously prepared, and a predisposition, whether from fear or favour, to enter into its objects has been previously created. I do not therefore consider that the higher classes of Rajpoots of the Kangra hills are as yet in a mood to render any general assemblage expedient. But those of the lower hills are much less bigoted and more favourably disposed, and Major Abbott is about to convene a meeting of them shortly, which I trust may serve as a prelude to similar efforts amongst the Katochees, Gulereeas, Pataneeas, and other tribes, amongst whom the feelings of family pride are the strongest.

26th.—I cannot close this letter without adverting to the highly gratifying occurrences which have recently taken place at Julundhur as detailed in Captain Farrington's report, the merit of originating which rests entirely with Major Edwardes. The Bedees, belonging originally to the Boonjaee section of the Khuttree tribe, were naturally most anxious that the marriage of their daughters with its members should be revived. The feeling was very strong and general, but individual exertions had failed hitherto in effecting the object, and though they might ultimately have been successful, this result was still doubtful, and might have been frustrated by a thousand incidents, especially as the Boonjaees evinced a disposition to assume the vantage-ground.

27th.—It is not to be supposed that hereby any reflection was to be cast on the Sureens, with whom any member amongst the Bedees is still at liberty to intermarry, should both parties be agreed. But as the Boonjaees are the class with whom by universal consent it is admitted to be most natural and appropriate that Bedees should intermarry, the latter necessarily felt that a stigma attached to them so long as this privilege was denied.

28th.—A public meeting, under official sanction, was accordingly suggested and immediately acceded to by Major Edwardes, if not indeed proposed by him. His views and intentions have been now carried out, and with the happiest results, much cordiality having to all appearance been established between the parties. But it appears to me most desirable that the matter should now be taken up by yourself, if it have your approval, both in order to confirm the parties here in their present good intentions, and to ensure the agreements entered into by them meeting with general acceptance.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) D. F. McLeod,

Commissioner and Superintendent,

Trans-Sutlej States.

Commr.'s Office, Trans-Sutlej States,
Camp Julundhur,
The 12th April 1853.

P. S.—I deem it right to add that very valuable population statistics have been supplied by Mr. Melvill with his Settlement Report on four Pergunnas of Hoosheearpore, to which I have not thought it necessary more particularly to refer at the present time, though they will form a most important standard of comparison hereafter, until a detailed return has been furnished by each Putwaree as prescribed, shewing the names of individuals. I shall not feel confident in respect to their entire correctness, but much pains has evidently been taken with the returns in question, and I have no doubt they are as trustworthy as the first census thus taken can well be expected to be.

(Signed) D. F. McLeod,

Commr. and Supdt., Trans-Sutlej States.

APPENDIX

To letter from Commissioner and Superintendent, Trans-Sutlej Territory, to Judicial Commissioner, No. 26 B., dated 12th April 1853. Returns of population of the village or Tupa of———, Purgunna ———

Serial Number of Householder.	Names of Heads of Families.	Caste.	Occupation.	No. of Ploughs.	Number of individuals at close of preceding year.				Number of births and additions during the year of report.				Number of deaths and deductions during the year of report.				Number of individuals remaining at the end of the year.				Number of marriages during the year.	REMARKS.
					Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.		
1																						

NOTE.—In the foregoing, males up to the age of 14 should be considered boys, females up to 12, girls. When they pass from these ages respectively, they should, for that year, be entered in the column of additions as men and women, and in that of reductions as boys and girls, and in like manner all new-comers and absentees should be entered in those columns respectively.

Persons whose families do not belong to the village, but who reside as dependents with some family in it, should be entered after the enumeration of all the families of the village.

(Signed) D. F. McLEOD,
Commr. and Supdt., Trans-Sutlej States.

No. 108 OF 1853.

From

CAPTAIN FARRINGTON,

Deputy Commissioner, Julundhur,

To

D. F. McLEOD, ESQUIRE,

Commr. and Supdt., Trans-Sutlej States.

Dated 11*th April* 1853.

SIR,—With reference to Major Edwardes's very able report on Female Infanticide, letter No. 134, of the 30th June 1852, paras. 52 and 53, I do myself the honor to inform you that that officer arranged for a meeting of the Bedees and Boonjaees to take place at this station on the 4th Instant, and with this view issued notices in this district, and also begged the Deputy Commissioner of Hoosheearpore to make the circumstances known in his jurisdiction; the object of the meeting being to bring about an arrangement by which these two branches of Khuttrees should intermarry, thus throwing open a large field for the Bedee daughters who have lately been preserved.

2*nd.*—Major Edwardes and yourself expressed much interest in the matter, and on moving into my district shortly after arrival I proceeded to Phugwara, where I received all the principal Bedees, renewed the subject originally mooted by them to Major Edwardes, making myself personally acquainted with their views, promising to bring about as large a meeting as possible, and inducing the people during my tour to attend. Major Edwardes had also addressed the Raja of Kupurthulla, with the view of obtaining the attendance of the rest of the Bedees of his district—those of Phugwara (their stronghold) having originally represented the subject to Major Edwardes. The Raja entered actively on the object, and indeed has taken measures to suppress Infanticide with much praiseworthy zeal.

3*rd.*—The original intention appeared to be to limit the meeting to the attendance of those in the neighbourhood, but the Bedees of Phugwara expressed a wish that Baba Mean Sing, a man of great influence at Dera Nanuk, should be invited to attend. Captain Becher was good enough to induce him to do so.

4*th.*—As you are aware, the meeting was arranged to take place at the Haee tank, near the town,—a place, from its religious associa-

tions, peculiarly adapted to the purpose in view, and, moreover, avoiding the authoritative appearance which such a meeting would assume if held in one of the Government Courts. The warm interest taken by my predecessor led him to express a wish that you should be present, and, from my recent arrival in the district, I was anxious you should preside on the occasion; this you were kind enough to do.

5th.—Dispensing with exhibiting any difference of rank amongst these people, we all seated ourselves on carpets on the ground, when Bedees and Boonjaees discussed, with a proper spirit, the relative positions and customs of the two branches, and, after some time passed in this way, begged for two or three days to discuss the subject amongst themselves, and also gave an opportunity for the arrival of more of their fraternity.

6th.—On the 8th the meeting was again assembled, when both parties made the gratifying avowal that they had come to a friendly understanding with each other, and agreed to give and receive in marriage. An agreement was drawn out and signed by all present, a copy and translation of which I beg to enclose. It bears the signatures of many influential men from this as well as other districts.

7th.—It would appear from facts elicited on the occasions that marriages had taken place between these two branches (though it does not appear so in Major Edwardes's report); but from the former having sought marriages for their sons amongst those considered of impure origin, this appears to have increased the estrangement; it merely requires some aid on the part of the Government officers to bring about a meeting where all could assemble and discuss a subject regarding a point on which their minds were already partly made up. The relative positions of these branches have been so fully dealt with in Major Edwardes's report that it is not requisite I should repeat it.

8th.—The agreement now entered into authorizes them to give and take daughters in marriage, each branch reserving to itself to select from those of the other branch whom they consider of sufficiently pure blood to form a connection with. The Bedees have now an extended field on which to negociate the marriages of their female offspring; time alone can shew how they will carry out the resolutions. It would appear that although Female Infanticide was practised under the former rule by both the branches, the Bedees gloried in it and carried the cruel custom into effect in the most shameless and heartless manner. This is described by the Boonjaees as having caused a greater breach between them.

9th.—I am informed that at Dera Nanuk there are nearly 200 Bedee daughters. It will be seen by the resolution passed that the Boonjaees are to retain their own marriage customs, these being economical; the Bedees will avoid the profuseness and extravagance of

the Sureens, with whom, doubtless, marriages will also be effected, as they are now to a limited extent. I gather that the Boonjaees will ere many months be put to the test, as the Bedees are about to propose several marriages.

10*th*.—You will observe also that the same meeting has of its own accord given in its decision to the modified scale of marriage expenses first submitted to my predecessor by the people of Julundhur. Much complaint is made regarding the violent importunity of fakeers and beggars at weddings; they were informed that on seeking assistance of the police they would obtain it.

11*th*.—In conclusion, I would observe that the result of this meeting has been highly satisfactory, for although (as I was first led to understand) the estrangement was not of such long standing, some intermarriages, especially at Dera Nanuk, having taken place between the branches, still the propriety of them was a matter of discussion, which it will now no longer be; the people have had an opportunity of witnessing the interest taken in their affairs by those placed over them. It gives them confidence in our disinterestedness, and will induce them readily to seek our aid in bringing about arrangements affecting their feelings and customs. I shall continue to take an interest in watching the result of what has hitherto been done, and I cannot but think this meeting, when made generally known in other districts of the Punjab, will have a beneficial effect in inducing others of these two branches to adopt similar measures to carry out a plan so materially connected with their welfare.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) O. J. FARRINGTON,
Deputy Commissioner.

JULUNDHUR, 11*th April* 1853.

(True Copy)

(Signed) D. F. MCLEOD,
Commr. and Supdt., Trans-Sutlej States.

Agreement entered into.

IT is without doubt that the Bedee Khuttrees are from time immemorial of the same stock as the Boonjaees, and from the period of Baba Nanuk, when the Bedees assumed the priestly office, there has been a slight estrangement between the Bedees and Boonjaees, and the bad practice of Female Infanticide was practised by the Bedees; nevertheless, friendship and communication continued with the Boonjaees under

the British Government. Infanticide is strictly forbidden. We now all, of our own free-will, and according to the wish of Government, have given up this wicked practice: it has become consequently necessary for us to settle this slight difference, and to provide marriages for our daughters.

Major Edwardes, the late Deputy Commissioner, discussed and advised on this subject, with the view of carrying out the point in question, and arranged for a meeting at Julundhur. Therefore, to clear up this point, a meeting of the Bedees of the Julundhur Doab, Dera Nanuk and Butala, took place at the Haee tank, a place of Hindoo pilgrimage, and came to the following resolutions:—

1st.—Since now the Bedees of their own will have agreed to the customs of the Boonjaees; accordingly the marriages which were forbidden by parents, that difference is now adjusted.

2nd.—For the future, if the lineage is correct, the same giving and receiving in marriage is to be carried on as amongst the Khuttrees.

3rd.—The marriage expenses which have obtained amongst the Boonjaees to continue amongst both parties.

Signatures of Mahne Buksh, Fukeer Buksh and 129 others, Bedees and Boonjaees.

(True Translation,)
(Signed) O. J. Farrington,
Deputy Commissioner.

Agreement amongst the Bedees of the Julundhur Doab.

On a former occasion a code of marriage expenses for the Julundhur was fixed on and agreed to by the Punchayet before Major Edwardes, late Deputy Commissioner. *1st class marriage,*—Rs. 400 ; *2nd class,* Rs. 200 ; *3rd class,* Rs. 125 ; *4th class,* Re. 1. None of us Bedees were present on the occasion. Now, as we have assembled to arrange intermarriages with the Boonjaees, we have heard of the arrangement and are much pleased with it. We will also act accordingly, and if any Bedee act contrary he will be reproached and chidden by all tribes. We therefore lodge this agreement that it may remain with the former one of the Punchayet.

(Signed) *By eighteen persons.*
(True Copy)
(Signed) O. J. Farrington,
Deputy Commissioner.

Dated 8*th April* 1853.

(True Translation.)
(Signed) D. F. McLeod,
Commr. and Supdt., Trans-Sutlej States.

No. 950. No. 105.

From

R. MONTGOMERY, ESQUIRE,

Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab,

To

P. MELVILL, ESQUIRE,

Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

Dated Lahore, the 4th April 1854.

Judicial.
Criminal.

SIR,—The Commissioners of the Mooltan, Leia and Jhelum Divisions were duly apprized of the proposal made by me in my Minute, dated the 16th June last (*vide* letter to your address, No. 76-1028), and subsequently sanctioned by the Chief Commissioner and the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, to hold meetings in their Divisions for the purpose of enacting sumptuary laws for the suppression of Female Infanticide.

Mr. Edgeworth,
Major Ross,
Captain Voyle,
Lieut. McNeile,
Mr. VanCortlandt,
Major Marsden,
Mr. H. Monckton,
Major Hamilton,
Mr. McNabb, and
Mr. McMahon.

2nd.—The Commissioners of the Mooltan and Leia Divisions considered that it would be preferable to hold one meeting for their united Divisions at Mooltan, which, with my sanction, they accordingly did on the 29th December last. The meeting was attended by the Civil Officers noted in the margin, by a large number of influential people and by the heads of the tribes practising Infanticide.

3rd.—A joint report of the proceedings was subsequently drawn up by Mr. Edgeworth and Major Ross, copy of which I have the honor to annex.* I have not thought it necessary to forward with this letter English translations of the agreements entered into by the several parties, as these documents are similar in purport to those of the Umritsur meeting, and would unnecessarily swell the correspondence to an inconvenient length.

* Appendix A.

4th.—The Commissioners state that the meeting made a deep impression on all who attended, and they feel confident that the result will be the suppression of Female Infanticide.

5th.—The Commissioner of the Jhelum Division, Mr. Thornton, found it impossible, on public grounds, to assemble all his Officers at one meeting, and solicited sanction to hold district meetings instead. This I sanctioned, and Mr. Thornton's letter † of the 6th Ultimo, No. 46, with enclosure, will shew the manner in which the meetings were held and the mode in which they were conducted.

† Appendix B.

6th.—The result, as elsewhere, is highly gratifying. The people gave their most cordial assent to the new arrangements, and entered into them with an earnestness and zeal which shew how thoroughly they were interested in them.

7th.—The Chief Commissioner will remember that I suggested in my minute above quoted (para. 70) the propriety of the Civil Officers holding local meetings in their respective districts. This several have done, and of two of the meetings a very full report has been submitted.

8th.—The first was held by Major Clarke, at Goojranwala, on the 12th December last. A copy of his report* and of the correspondence that ensued is herewith transmitted.

* Appendix C.

The Chief Commissioner will, I feel sure, peruse the report of the meeting and the engagement that was entered into with great interest.

9th.—But, if possible, a more important meeting than that of Goojranwala was held at Bureeal on the 16th Ultimo, about midway between the city of Seealkote and Jummoo. It was presided over by Mr. Raikes, the Commissioner of the Lahore Division, and Prince Runbeer Sing, son and heir-apparent of Máharája Goolab Sing. The meeting was assembled at the special request of Prince Runbeer Sing, and there were collected at it the Rajpoot and other tribes under the Kashmeer hills and all the influential landholders of the Seealkote district.

10th.—Mr. Raikes' interesting account of this meeting is herewith submitted.† It seems to have been conducted with great tact and spirit; the resolutions were carried unanimously, and in a hearty and cordial manner; and I look upon this meeting as second only to that of Umritsur.

† Appendix. D.

11th.—It is satisfactory to see the good result of the Umritsur meeting, and how widely the fame of it has extended. Wherever meetings have since been held allusion has been made to the resolutions therein adopted.

12th.—I learn that in several districts a most marked and striking change for the better is taking place in the social customs of the people. In the Kángra district, under the immediate guidance of Mr. Forsyth and under the general control of Mr. McLeod, the inhabitants are framing rules and bye-laws which will deliver them from a thraldom under which they have long grievously suffered. This movement requires to be guided with great care, and the high character of Messrs. McLeod and Raikes is the best guarantee that it will be so.

13th.—The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council has in so gratifying a manner expressed his approval of the conduct of the

officers who took part in the former meetings, that I feel assured the same approbation will be extended to those officers the reports of whose proceedings I have now the honor to submit.

14th.—I am induced to solicit the Chief Commissioner to bring specially to the notice of the Most Noble the Governor-General the conduct of Prince Runbeer Sing; a letter of approbation will have a great effect in encouraging him and his father, the Máharája, in putting down the crime of infanticide.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed) R. MONTGOMERY,

Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab.

Lahore, the 4th April 1854.

APPENDIX A.

REPORT OF THE MEETING AT MOOLTAN.

ON receipt of the Judicial Commissioner's letter forwarding the printed correspondence regarding infanticide, and directing that a supplementary meeting should be held at Mooltan for the two divisions of Mooltan and Leia, full publicity was given to the instructions, and the printed proclamations subsequently received were extensively circulated.

Major Ross, Captain Voyle, Lieutenant McNeile, Mr. H. VanCortlandt, Major Marsden, Mr. H. Monckton, Major Hamilton, Mr. McNabb, and Mr. W. McMahon.

With the concurrence of the Judicial Commissioner, the period of the meeting was fixed for the 29th of December, instead of November, in order to suit the convenience of the agricultural population. During the days preceding the date fixed the officers of the neighbouring districts gradually assembled, and the several parties of Zumeendárs, Kutrees and others came in. Not only the heads of the tribes practising infanticide, but all the most influential persons in the five districts, were invited, and most of them attended; a few sent excuses, but noted their cordial approbation of the object of the meeting.

A Committee, consisting of Major Hamilton, Deputy Commissioner, Mooltan; Mr. VanCortlandt, Deputy Commissioner of Derah Gazee Khan, and Dewan Joala Nath, Extra-Assistant, was formed to carry out all the details, and by their unremitting exertions every part was well arranged. A spacious enclosure was covered in with shumeeanas and walled off with kunats, with large tents in the rear for the officers and spectators from cantonments.

By 1 o'clock on the 29th the various guests were arranged;—those entitled to chairs at the upper end, with the District Officers

intermixed with them; lower down, on benches, were all who came by invitation; and behind them, on the ground, were seated the spectators from the city and neighbourhood.

Mr. Edgeworth, Commissioner of Mooltan, opened the proceedings by briefly addressing the meeting and pointing out its object, and the mode in which that object was to be attained,—by regulating the expenses of marriages and the limits within which marriages may be contracted. An abstract translation of the Most Noble the Governor-General's letter, and also the agreements entered into at Umritsur were then read out by a Tehseeldar selected for his loud clear voice. The officers then retired into the tent in the rear, and the natives formed themselves into groups, and readily entered into engagements founded upon those agreed to at Umritsur.

In the course of three hours they were prepared and signed by the assembled delegates; some slight alterations were made by them.

When this was done the Government officers returned and all resumed their places, and the meeting was dissolved by Major Ross, Commissioner of Leia, in a short address thanking the assembly for its orderly behaviour and prompt adhesion to the views of Government.

As the objects of the meeting had been thus obtained in one day, there was no necessity for holding a second assembly. The meeting appears to have made a deep impression on all who attended, and will, it may be confidently hoped, produce the desired object of checking female infanticide.

(Signed) D. Ross,
Commissioner.

(Signed) M. P. Edgeworth,
Commissioner of Mooltan.

APPENDIX B.

Report of Proceedings in the Jhelum Division.

Copies No. 46.

From E. Thornton, Esquire,
Commr. and Supdt., Jhelum Division,

To R. Montgomery, Esquire,
Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab.

Dated Camp Tatlee, 6th March 1854.

Judicial. Criminal.

Sir,—On receipt of your letter No. 1882, dated the 27th of September last, on the subject of the suppression of female infanticide, I submitted an explanation of the circumstances which rendered it impracticable to hold

one general meeting, as suggested by you, for the Division; and, in reply, I was instructed by your letter No. 2,377, dated 14th November, to convene district meetings in place of the general one at first proposed.

2nd.—These orders have been duly carried out. The meeting at Rawul Pindee was held on the 5th and the 8th of December; that for Jhelum and Goojrat was held at the former station on the 2nd of January; and the meeting at Shapoor took place on the 24th Idem.

3rd.—I have the honor herewith to submit the several reports noted in the margin, which give detailed account of the proceedings on each of these occasions

From Deputy Commissioner, Rawul Pindee, No. 292, dated 15th Ult., with annexures; from Deputy Commissioner of Jhelum, No. 108, dated 30th Jany., with annexures; from Deputy Commissioner of Goojrat, No 22, dated 19th Jany., with annexures; from Deputy Commissioner of Shapoor, No. 35, dated 27th January, with annexures.

4th.—At each of these assemblings the people showed a lively interest on the suggestion for the reduction of the expense hitherto incurred in marriages. I believe that the arrangements they have drawn up are intended by them to be reduced to practice, and that they feel relieved and obliged by the course which the Government has adopted in opening to them a way of escape from the burden which custom has hitherto compelled them to bear.

5th.—Of the classes who attended the meeting and who will benefit by the new arrangements, many, I believe, never practised Female Infanticide. The members who were present of those classes who certainly were addicted to the crime all asserted that it has been discontinued, but that the reduction of marriage expenses will tend to remove the temptation to its commission.

6th.—On each occasion the whole assembly gave their evidently cordial assent to the observation that the practice we had met to put down was unnatural and displeasing to the Supreme Being. I think, too, they were pleased at being called together, to meet the local authorities, and at being to a certain extent taken into council by them.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) EDWARD THORNTON,

Commissioner and Superintendent.

COMMR.'S OFFICE, JELUM DIVISION:
The 6th March 1854.

No. 292.

To EDWARD THORNTON, ESQUIRE,
Commr. and Superintendent, Jhelum Division.

Camp Husun Abdal, 15th February 1854.

SIR,—With reference to the correspondence noted in the margin, on the subject of the suppression of Female Infanticide, I have the honor to submit a report of the district meeting held at Rawul Pindee, and of the resolutions adopted by the Hindoo community with the view of reducing marriage expenses.

Commr's. Circular No. 146, dated 7th Novr. 1853; ditto, No. 569, dated 21st Novr. 1853; ditto, No. 38, dated 25th January 1854.

2nd.—In my letter No. 340, of the 27th March 1852, I stated an opinion that although the crime had decreased since annexation, it prevailed still to a considerable extent; and in proof of this statement I annexed a census of a few families of the classes who had practised Infanticide for generations, showing that of 37 children, 6 only were girls, and 41 boys. I also remarked at that time that there existed in this district not more than 200 families addicted to the crime. From information since collected, I believe this estimate to be nearly correct.

3rd.—Here, as elsewhere, pride and poverty are the sole causes of Infanticide. Among the numberless sects of Hindoos, Brahmins as well as Kutrees, there appear to be a few families who represent very essence or high aristocracy of each. Thus among the former we find the Moyal Brahmins, and in the latter the Adhyegur Kutrees, to whom the intermarriage of daughters with families of inferior grade has been always viewed as contamination. Hence one principal cause of Infanticide. But supposing, in any instance, nature prevails, and a daughter is saved, there arise two all but insuperable difficulties which the high caste but poor man has to encounter. *First*, he must obtain a suitable betrothal for his child among the tribes of equal or superior rank with whom intermarriage is permitted, and, *secondly*, he must celebrate the marriage ceremony in a style corresponding with his exalted rank.

4th.—His first difficulty lies in the fact that Moyal Brahmins, who select a bride from sects a shade lower in the scale, can always secure a large marriage portion, while no degradation attaches to such a connexion. It follows, therefore, that they possess a higher value than their neighbours in the matrimonial market; and we may easily imagine that a Moyal, who is unable to obtain both rank and wealth for his son in his own grade, may in some cases condescend to select a daughter-in-law from an inferior grade, taking pecuniary advantages as a set-off against the bride's difference of rank. Thus the Moyal who is burdened with poverty and daughters must seek out among his own tribe a family in whom no such sordid motives prevail, or else subject them to the disgrace of remaining unmarried.

5th.—But supposing him successful in betrothing his daughter, he had formerly to incur a vast expense in her marriage. Should he have sons, however successful he may have been in the selection of their brides, he has still had to expend, for appearances' sake, a much larger sum than he could afford. Perhaps all he possesses has been absorbed in their weddings, and years of debt and difficulty are before him. In such cases the marriage of his daughter entails beggary; and, as he never for a moment entertains the idea of marrying her in a lower sect, or of allowing her to grow up unmarried, we may readily understand, however much we may abhor, his motives and arguments for getting rid of her.

6th.—These remarks regarding the Moyal Brahmins are in every respect applicable to the highest grades of the Kutree class, *namely*, the Adhyegurh class and the Bedees; exactly the same causes influence them in perpetrating this revolting crime.

7th.—The district meetings held on the 5th and 8th December, and the resolutions agreed upon regarding marriage expenses, have effectually met one very great difficulty,—poverty; and both the Brahmin and Kutree may, by adopting the lowest scale of expenditure, manage to marry off an ordinary family of daughters as well as sons. There is no longer any desire to incur a large outlay at a daughter's wedding.

8th.—The other great difficulty, which lies in the pride and prejudices of the highest sects, has yet to be thoroughly overcome. Until they are less exclusive and consider it no disgrace to give their daughters in marriage, not only to equals and superiors, but to others a shade less aristocratic, the crime can never entirely cease. Hitherto the Moyal Brahmin in selecting a husband for his daughter examines the youth's pedigree for generations. If he find that the ancestors have all been Moyals of the seven exclusive sects, he is satisfied; but if either has married a Brahmin of the outside or Boonjaee sects the flaw in the pedigree renders the youth ineligible. These absurd scruples among sects equal in caste, and known collectively under the one title of Moyals, must in course of time gradually wear out and disappear. Assuredly the meeting under report and the discussions thereat must tend to effect radical changes in this respect. The Hindoo community are well aware of the light in which the crime is viewed, and the interest evinced by Government in its suppression. Moreover, the feeling of the people generally against infanticide rapidly gains strength, and there can be little doubt that, under the fear of the law and the influence of public opinion, the custom, which has as yet been only checked since annexation, will in a few years cease to exist.

9th.—I now proceed to report in detail the results of the meeting. In your letter No. 569, of 21st November, Monday, the 5th December,

was fixed. I invited each of the five Tehseeldars to attend on that day, bringing with them as many as possible of the Hindus of their respective pergunnas, and especially those among whom infanticide was practised. All but the Tehseeldar of Pindee Gheb, who was unable to leave his post, attended. I should say that between 500 and 600 people were assembled on the occasion. This number, though small as compared with the attendance at other stations of the Punjab further east, nevertheless fairly represented the Hindu community, who form but a small section of the population of this district. The first day was devoted to explaining the views of Government on the subject of infanticide and in discussing the results of the great meeting at the dewalee festival at Umritsur. The assembly were then invited to draw up similar rules for regulating the expenses of marriages as celebrated in this part of the Punjab. The following Thursday was fixed for re-assembling at your tents and for signing any agreements that were drawn up at intermediate deliberations.

10*th*.—The people seemed already fully aware of the Umritsur meeting and its proceedings. The month which intervened had given time for the news to spread, and the community here were readily disposed to imitate the good example of the brethren of the holy city during the three days which elapsed between the first and second meeting. The Tehseeldars and their parties assembled daily in the city (Baee Hookma Sing, the Tehseeldar of Rawul Pindee, presiding) and considered the question fully. The results are shown in the Appendices annexed (A., B., C., D.), which contain all the details of marriage expenditure as agreed on for future adoption by the Hindoo community.

11*th*.—To prevent the possibility of misunderstanding, separate lists of expenses incurrable by the bridegroom's and bride's family, whether of the Moyal Brahmin or the Kutree tribe, have been drawn up ; and I solicit your sanction to my printing 500 of the former and 1,000 of the latter in Goormookhee for circulation in the district.

12*th*.—The sects of Brahmins among whom infanticide has prevailed to a great extent, though never universally, are known as Moyals and consist of the following seven families :—

1.—Dut, 2.—Balee, 3.—Vaíd, 4.—Chibur, 5.—Mohun,	Of superior rank.
6.—Law, 7.—Bumbal,	Of somewhat inferior rank.

The above intermarry among themselves or take wives from the multitude of lower grades of Brahmins known as the Boonjaee; but they never give their daughters in marriage to the Boonjaee, or to Brahmins of their *own* sect (Moyals) whose ancestors may have married into the Boonjaee grades. Unless the parents possessed the means of marrying them suitably, or had the opportunity of betrothing them, they were murdered at birth by suffocation or poison.

13th.—There are also seven principal grades of the Kutree class, among one of which only does the practice prevail extensively, namely, the Adhyegur. I don't here include the Bedee sect, among whom infanticide was universal; for they form a separate class, though originally of the Sureen caste of Kutrees. The Adhyegur take wives from all the lower grades, and intermarry among themselves. They don't give their daughters to other sects, and are as fastidious as the Moyal Brahmins in selecting suitable husbands for the girls they saved. They practised infanticide extensively, though not universally. The custom is almost unknown in the lower grades, and entirely so in the lowest. The tribes of Kutrees are :—

1.—Adhyegur.
2.—Chargur.
3.—Chehzatee.
4.—Athzatee, also known as Kaheram.
5.—Baragur, from "Bara," 12.
6.—Boonjaee, from "Buwunja," 52.
7.—Sereen, or multitude.

14th.—Of these the Adhyegur consist of—

1.—Kukur.
2.—Mulotra.
3.—Kupoor.
4.—Khuna.

The Chargur consist of—

1.—Bara.
2.—Dhone.
3.—Mulotra. } These have fallen a step by intermarrying with
4.—Kupoor. } low grades.

The Chehzatee consist of—

1.—Chopra.
2.—Tulwad.
3.—Mendroo.
4.—Kukur.
5.—Dhone.
6.—Bara.

The Athzatee, or Kokerain—

1.—Sanee.	5.—Sethee.
2.—Chida.	6.—Anund.
3.—Kolee.	7.—Baseen.
4.—Suburwal.	8.—Sooree.

The Baragur consist of—

1.—Mulotra.	7.—Tulwad.
2.—Khuna.	8.—Saigall.
3.—Kukur.	9.—Behul.
4.—Kudoor.	10.—Bara.
5.—Chopra.	11.—Mendroo.
6.—Dhonee.	12.—Bij.

The Boonjaee caste consist of upwards of fifty families, too numerous to detail. The Sureen are innumerable. All these intermarry with each other, and give their daughters to higher (never to lower) grades.

15*th.*—The main object of our deliberations had been to discard all unnecessary outlay, and to confine the expenditure at weddings to a moderate and legitimate amount. All distribution of money to noisy Bhats and Meerasees who mob the marriage procession have been prohibited, and this troublesome class of people warned that any interference whatever will subject them to punishment for misdemeanour. This has had the best effect, and a large item of expenditure, the amount of which none could surely calculate owing to the extravagant and importunate demands of these people, entirely suppressed.

16*th.*—Another large item of expense, that of Bhajee Kurahee, or food distributed occasionally to the whole village, has been reduced to proper limits; and the relations and more intimate friends of the two families will, in future, be only entitled to partake. The Nurizree, a distribution of food and money to Brahmins in the worship and invocation of the gods, has been very greatly curtailed. The Dhurm, which is a promiscuous throwing of alms to hungry Brahmins, has been suppressed as regards the poorer classes, and greatly reduced as regards richer people.

17*th.*—The lists in the Appendix give all the details of the marriage rites as celebrated in this district, and the expense to be incurred on

each. They don't appear to require further explanation. The grades of expenditure are three, and have been fixed at—

For Brahmins.

Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
73-0	190-0	448—for the bride's family.
75-4	204-8	486—for the bridegroom's ditto.

For Kutrees.

70-0	128-0	382—for the bride's family.
49-0	185-0	327—for the bridegroom's ditto.

In all cases any who expend less than either scale are not to suffer in repute, and any who expend more will be answerable both to Government and the brotherhood.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. R. CARNAC,
Deputy Commissioner.

DEPUTY COMMR.'S OFFICE,
Rawul Pindee District.

APPENDIX A.

List of Rates of Expenditure by the Bride's Father on Marriage Ceremonies among the seven Moyal or Brahmin Castes, as agreed upon at the Infanticide Meeting on the 5th December 1853.

Number.	Name of Rite.	Grade of Expenditure.			Remarks.
		1st.	2nd.	3rd.	
1	Koormaee ...	Rs. 2	Re. 1	Re. 1	This custom is that of giving a small sum of money to the Purohit, or family priest, who takes the offer of marriage. A Brahminical thread is also sent.
2	Bhajee Kurahee ...	Rs. 5	Rs. 10	Rs. 15	This is for sweetmeats to persons connected with the family, and is the publication of the banns. The distribution is, properly speaking, confined to the relations only.
3	Nuvigree ...	7	15	75	This is a principal charge in all marriages. It consists of sweetmeats and food to Brahmins ; one and two pice in cash are also distributed, and as much as two to four annas by rich people. One meal is now fixed.
4	Lugun ...	5	11	21	This consists of presents to the bridegroom, such as clothing and some cash.
5	Milnee ...	5	21	31	This is given to the father of the bridegroom by the father of the bride on meeting to discuss details of the ceremony.
6	Chouka Bithaee ...	1	2	5	This is a similar present to the father of the bridegroom, and must be presented when he has eaten the feast prepared for him and his family by the girl's father.

7	Chootee ...	15	40	100	This consists of presents to the Purohits of the family, or to other Brahmins connected with the family. It also includes one, two, or five rupees given to the bridegroom's father.
8	Dharun ...	0	30	80	Formerly this was the great expense of the ceremony. It was presents of two and four pice, and as much as one rupee, to all Brahmins who collected. It is now fixed at half a seer of food once, provided eighty rupees be not exceeded.
9	Burat or Jung ...	25	40	80	This is expended in food to the guests for three days. The relations and friends of the family, who form a Jung or marriage party, get food daily. Others (the Lugai) get a meal at night, and one in the morning, and are then to take leave.
10	Khurch Bedee ...	10	20	40	To be given to the Purohit who reads the ceremony. The Bedee is a kind of room curtained off to divide the men and women of the party.
11	Clothes, jewels ...	0	0	0	No sum can be fixed for this. Each will give the girl according to his means.
	Total Rupees ...	73	190	448	*N. B.*—Any Brahmin who shall expend less than either grade shall not suffer in repute. Any Brahmin who shall expend more than either grade shall be held responsible to the Government and the brotherhood.

(Signed) J. C. Cracroft,

Assistant Commissioner.

APPENDIX B.

List of Rates of Expenditure by Bridegroom's Father on Marriage Ceremonies among the seven Moyal or Brahmin Castes, as agreed upon at the Infanticide Meeting on the 5th December 1853.

Number.	Name of Rite.	Scale of Expenditure.			Remarks.
		1st.	2nd.	3rd.	
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1	Purohit ...	1-4	2	2-8	This is a present to the Purohit who brings the Brahminical string for the bridegroom.
2	Shurhur ...	2	5	10	This is a distribution of sweetmeats to friends on the betrothal.
3	Nuvigree ...	10	50	125	This is a principal charge. The rite consists in a distribution of food to the relations and friends of the family, also to Brahmins invited.
4	Shugun Purcha ...	2	5	7	When clothes are made for the bridegroom and bride, the friends are invited to partake of sweetmeats.
5	Mohee ...	14	36	84	This is a present of from 2 to 12 Rs. to each principal Purohit or High Priest of the seven sects of Brahmins when the marriage procession goes first to the bride's house.
6	Keysur ...	10	20	50	This consists of presents to Brahmins and others invited or otherwise who join the party. This varies from one to 4 pice each. It must now not exceed Rs. 50 altogether.

7	Bidagee ...	5	12	60	From "Bidya," on the occasion of the marriage party taking their leave ; the sum is distributed to Brahmins and others.
8	Dheean ...	10	15	30	This consists of presents to daughters (Dheean) of the bridegroom's tribe who have been married into the village whence the bride is taken.
9	Khyrat ...	...	20	50	Alms to the poor.
10	Bedee ...	10	15	25	This is the same as that of the girl's family, and is paid to the Purohit who reads the ceremony.
11	Budhan ...	5	7	10	Fees to different famous shrines or to famous Baleas; each Balea has a collector (generally the chowdry of Kutrees) who keeps the accounts of a Tuppa and pays when called on to do so.
12	Lageean ...	5	12	20	This is a present to the family priest, the Gooroo, and the barber of each family.
13	Dola ...	1	5	10	Presents, hire of doolee-bearers.
	Total ...	75-4	204-8	486	*N.B.*—Those who expend more than noted above will be answerable to Government and to the brotherhood. Any who please shall expend less. (Signed) J. C. CRACROFT, *Assistant Commissioner.*

APPENDIX C.

List of Rates of Expenditure by the Bride's Father on Marriage Ceremonies among Kutrees, as agreed upon at the Infanticide Meeting, 5th December 1853.

Number.	Name of Rite.	Scale of Expenditure. 1st.	Scale of Expenditure. 2nd.	Scale of Expenditure. 3rd.	Remarks.
1	Purshad Derujee...	Rs. 2	Rs. 3	Rs. 5	This is a distribution of sweetmeats to friends and relations invited to partake.
2	Jugeo Powit ...	4	4	4	This is a present to the Purohit who puts the Brahminical thread on the boy.
3	Nuzzur Bhet ...	1	2	3	A present from the father of the bride to the father of the bridegroom on meeting at the house of the former.
4	Chouka Barthae...	1	2	3	This is presented to the father of the bridegroom on his eating at the house of the bride. It must be given before he rises from the chouka.
5	Bhajee Kurahee ...	10	15	25	Sweetmeats or dishes of food to friends and relations of the family.
6	Navigree ...	5	25	50	This is a great expense, and consists of food to Brahmins and 1 pice each in cash ; sometimes it is distributed in the name of the nine Deities (No Girree).

7	Lugun ...	2	7	21	Presents of clothes and cash to the bridegroom. A similar custom called Vudhaee exists.
8	Brat or Jung ...	25	100	200	This is food to the guests at the marriage ceremony. The number of guests has been fixed at 15, 25, 50 for each grade of expenditure.
9	Milnee ...	3	7	21	A present from the girl's father to the bridegroom.
10	Alofa ...	2	3	5	Sweetmeats and food to the marriage party.
11	Chowthee ...	10	20	30	Presents to Brahmins and Purohits of the two families; also includes a present to the boy's father.
12	Bedee ...	5	10	15	To the Purohit or Maita who reads the ceremony. The Bedee is a space partitioned off with curtain to divide the men and women of the bridal party.
13	Clothes and jewels at discretion.				
	Total ...	70	193	382	*N. B.*—Any who expend less will not suffer in reputation. Those who expend more will be answerable to Government and to their brotherhood.

(Signed) J. C. CRACROFT,

Assistant Commissioner.

APPENDIX D.

List of Rates of Expenditure by the Bridegroom's Father on Marriage Ceremonies among Kutrees, as agreed upon at the Infanticide Meeting, 5th December 1853.

Number.	Name of Rite.	Expenditure.			Remarks.
		1st.	2nd.	3rd.	
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1	Purohit ...	1	2	3	This is given to the Purohit who brings the proposals of marriage, and the thread which is universally worn by Kutrees as well as Brahmins.
2	Shuhurwomd ...	2	5	10	This is a distribution of sweetmeats to the friends of the family. It is the publication of betrothal.
3	Navigree ...	5	25	50	This is food distributed to Brahmins and friends, in the name of the nine Deities worshipped.
4	Lugun and Bhajee,	10	15	25	This is a distribution of sweetmeats to friends on the preparation of the marriage dresses.
5	Sehra Mookut ...	1	2	3	Given to relations on the bridal head-dress or crown being placed on the boy's head.
6	Bedee ...	10	15	25	This is given to the Numduwala who reads the ceremony, and to other Brahmins present.

7	Lag ...	7	14	21	Presents to servants of the family, the barber, priest, bhat or other dependants, on the marriage procession leaving the boy's house.
8	Dheean ...	5	10	15	(From Dhee, a daughter.) Presents to women of the boy's caste, who have been married from the boy's village and settled in the girl's village.
9	Mara ...	0	75	150	This is a distribution of presents to Brahmins and others who importune the marriage procession. It has been now ruled that 2 pice each shall be the maximum to Brahmins, bhats excluded.
10	Soot Dola ...	5	15	25	Pice thrown to the mob over the dooly of the bride on her starting for the bridegroom's house.
11	Budhan ...	3	7	10	Regular fees payable to the benefit of dhurumsalas of the village, or for noted shrines of the neighbourhood.
	Total ...	49	185	337	*N. B.*—Any who expend less than the above will not suffer in reputation, and all who expend more will be held answerable to the brotherhood and to Government. Fire-works and naches are sanctioned according to means. The custom of dhookan, or throwing money over the boy's head on the marriage procession leaving the bridegroom's house, is prohibited. (Signed) J. C. Cracroft, *Assistant Commissioner.*

No. 108 of 1853-54.

From

Captain C. Browne,

Deputy Commissioner, Jhelum.

To

E. Thornton, Esq.,

Commissr. and Superintendent, Jhelum Division.

Dated Jhelum, the 30th January 1854.

Sir,—I have the honor to forward the report required by your letter No. 26, of the 25th Instant, on the result of the meeting, held at Jhelum, for the adoption of measures to suppress female infanticide.

2.—In compliance with the instructions contained in your letter No. 167, of the 14th Ultimo, lists were prepared of all the persons whose presence should be required, and it was also generally made known throughout the district that a meeting for the suppression of infanticide would be held at Jhelum on or about the 2nd of January 1854, that day having been fixed on with your concurrence.

3.—On the day appointed, the Tehseeldars of Rohtas, Pind Dadun Khán, Chukowal, and the Peshkar of Tulagung duly attended at Jhelum with the influential lumberdars and paiches of all the several castes, belonging to their several tehseels.

4.—Copies were then distributed of the detail of the proceedings held at Umritsur, and the different parties were desired to consider the subject, and to prepare for delivery on the 4th Instant the required agreements, with a scale of the costs to be expended on marriages.

5.—In this interval the Deputy Commissioner of Goojrat, in accordance with your consent and previous agreement, also arrived, bringing with him, under guidance of his Tehseeldars, all the respectable and influential people of his district.

6.—With Mr. Sapte's assistance the necessary arrangements for the reception of so large an assembly were then made in the kucheree compound.

7.—At 10 A. M., on the 4th Instant, the Tehseeldars of the two districts each brought up their respective quotas to the assembly, and all were seated in pre-arranged order by Mr. Sapte and myself the Jhelum people on one side, and those of Goojrat on the other ; and in the midst of all the native gentlemen and Government officers of the two districts, who were entitled to chairs.

8.—At the appointed hour (2 P. M.) you took your seat, supported by Mr. Sapte, Deputy Commissioner, Messrs. Simson, Ricketts, and Capper, Assistant Commissioners, and myself.

9.—The translation of the Governor-General's letter was then read out in the hearing of all by your Serishtedar; and after your address to the assembly, the Tehseeldars presented you with the collected signatures of the heads of the different tribes and castes affixed to agreements, copies of which are annexed.

10.—Each sect was then called on to signify their assent to the contents of these papers, which was immediately and cordially done, and with it the proceedings closed.

11.—I must not, however, omit to allude to the petition which at the close of this meeting was presented to you by the assembled community.

12.—The purport of this petition had been for days previously largely discussed by all classes as connected with the object of the meeting, and the time chosen was considered a fitting one for bringing the matter under your consideration.

13.—The contents of this petition are, that the people feel that immorality amongst their women has increased under our rule, because, when convicted, the offenders receive no adequate punishment to deter others from the crime, and the consequence is that each family fears for its honor in proportion to the number of its females.

14.—The connection between this petition and the object of the meeting is so obvious, and the importance of the subject so great, that I feel assured it will meet with your serious attention.

15.—In conclusion, I may add that a great degree of interest by all classes has been shown in the proceedings of the meeting, beyond merely those whose attendance was required; and the reduction of marriage costs has, I think, been received with lively satisfaction.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) C. BROWNE,

Deputy Commissioner.

ZILA JHELUM:
Deputy Commissioner's Office,
The 30th January 1854.

Brief Summary of the Agreements entered into at the Meeting held to suppress Female Infanticide.

1st.—As the crime of female infanticide is abominable in the sight of God and man, we therefore bind ourselves that, hereafter, whoever shall be found guilty of it, his arrest shall be procured by us, and a report of the case sent to the criminal authorities of the district, and that whoever from amongst us shall withhold his aid in this matter, shall be thrown out of his caste and the brotherhood.

2nd.—As one of the chief causes of infanticide is to evade the high expenses hitherto incurred in the marriage of female children, we have, therefore, established a reduced scale of marriage costs, and agreed that it shall be adopted by all.

3rd.—Another motive for murdering females is to evade the imposition of beggars, such as Bhats, Bhuts, Raes, Duts, Bhands, Barbers, Meerasees, &c., who, on the occasion of marriages, present themselves in multitudes, and are guilty of great extortion ; but from hence we agree to cause their seizure by the police if they attempt such acts in future, and also report the circumstance to the officer in charge of the district.

(Signed) C. BROWNE,
Deputy Commissioner.

ZILA JHELUM :
Deputy Commr.'s Office,
The 30th January 1854.

SCALE of Costs of Hindoo Marriages to be paid by the Father of a Male Child.

No.	Name of Caste.		Description of Costs.	Amount of Costs. 1st. Rs.	2nd. Rs.	3rd. Rs.	REMARKS.
1	Hindoo ...	1	Purohit ...	1	2	3	Paid to the Purohit on his bringing the janao for the bridegroom.
		2	Shukurwund ...	2	5	10	Sugar is distributed to the people of the caste intimating the celebration of the marriage.
		3	Nuweegree ...	11	25	56	To be expended on the feasting of Brahmins, &c.
		4	Lugun, Dokht, Parchat, Mooa, Bhajee	10	15	25	For dresses for the bride and bridegroom.
		5	Sehra Mookut ...	1	2	3	To be paid on putting on the dress.
		6	Khurch Bedee ...	10	15	25	To be paid to Brahmins and Purohits.
		7	Laug ...	7	14	21	To be paid to Naees, Purohits and Bhats on the departure of the dolah of the bride to her husband's house.
		8	Dhean ...	5	10	15	To be paid to girls of the caste at the rate of 2 annas, 4 annas, and 6 annas each
		9	Wara ...	0	60	182	Two pice to each beggar and something more to Brahmins.
		10	Loot Dolah ...	5	15	25	When the bridegrom goes home with the dolah of the bride the money is thrown over the dolah.
		11	Budhan ...	3	7	10	To be paid to the temples.
			Total Rupees ...	55	170	375	

JHELUM :
Office of Deputy Commissioner,
The 30th January 1854.

(Signed) C. BROWNE,
Deputy Commissioner.

SCALE of Costs of Hindoo Marriages to be paid by the Father of a Female Child.

No.	Name of Caste.		Description of Costs.	Amount of Costs. 1st. Rs.	2nd. Rs.	3rd. Rs.	REMARKS.
1	Hindoos ...	1	Purshad Davee ...	1	3	5	This is spent in offerings to the Ganges, &c.
		2	Jugopuweet ...	3	4	4	This is paid on the occasion of wearing the janao by the bridegroom.
		3	Nuzur Bhet ...	1	2	3	A present from the father of the bride to the father of the bridegroom when they first meet.
		4	Chouk Bithaee ...	1	2	3	Paid to the father of the bridegroom on the occasion of his taking meals.
		5	Bhajee ...	8	14	25	This is expended in sweetmeat, distributed in the brotherhood, and to the Brahmins.
		6	Nuweegree ...	5	25	50	This is expended in the feast of the Brahmins.
		7	Rotee Burat ...	20	75	152	Ditto ditto of the Burat in three days. The first day 15 persons to be fed, the 2nd day 25 persons, and on the third day 50 persons. It is optional with the father of the bride to supply sweet-meat or bread in the feast.
		8	Milnee ...	3	5	21	This is paid either at the meeting of both parties or at the parting of the same.
		9	Lugun Jora Wudahee	2	5	21	This is paid to the Brahmin who brings the message of the marriage.
		10	Uloofa Roz Uwul ...	2	3	5	This is paid in sweetmeat to the procession when out of the doors of the bride's father.
		11	Choolee ...	10	20	30	This is paid to Brahmins only at the rate of two annas, four annas, and six annas each.
		12	Khurch Bedee ...	5	7	15	This is paid to the poor and Purohits.
		13	Zewur, Parchat, Palung, Peera, &c.,	0	0	0	The father of the bride will give these agreeably to his means.
			Total, Rupees ...	61	165	334	

JHELUM:
Office of Deputy Commissioner,
The 30th January 1854.

(Signed) C. BROWNE,
Deputy Commissioner.

SCALE of Costs of Musulman Marriage, to be paid by the Father of a Female Child.

No.	Name of Caste.		Description of Costs.	Amount of Costs. 1st.	2nd.	3rd.	Remarks.
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1	Musulman ...	1	All marriage expenses ...	50	100	300	
		2	Jewels, cloth, peerahs, &c.,	„	„	„	To be given agreeably to the means of the father of the bride.

JHELUM:
Office of Deputy Commissioner,
The 30th January 1854.

(Signed) C. BROWNE,
Deputy Commissioner.

SCALE of Costs of Musulman Marriage to be paid by the Father of a Male Child.

No.	Name of Caste.		Description of Costs.	Amount of Costs.			Remarks.
				1st.	2nd.	3rd.	
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1	Musulman ...	1	All marriage expenses ...	50	100	300	

Jhelum :
Officer of Deputy Commissioner,
The 30th January 1854.

(Signed) C. Browne,
Deputy Commissioner.

No. 22.

From

B. SAPTE, ESQUIRE,

Deputy Commissioner, Goojerat.

To

E. THORNTON, ESQUIRE,

Commissioner and Superintendent,

Jelum Division.

Dated Goojerat, 19th January 1854.

SIR,— With reference to your letter No. 443, dated 22nd November last, I have the honor to submit copies of the various resolutions and agreements entered into by the various Hindu tribes and Musulman class for the suppression of the custom of female infanticide.

2. On receipt of your letter I instructed all the headmen of each Tehseel to assemble their families and to discuss the subject fully, and write down any propositions that would suggest themselves, which they were to produce at a meeting preliminary to the one to be held at Jelum, two or three days before which the men of the three Tehseels were collected in a body, and embodied their various suggestions into the form of a written agreement.

3. The whole, without exception, cheerfully took to the subject, apparently glad of an opportunity to strike at the root of such an accursed practice. They bound themselves over to limit their marriage expenses to the smallest possible amount, which would at once do away with the principal object for the continuance of the inhuman practice.

4. The result is before you. I do not therefore consider it necessary to make any further remarks.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) B. SAPTE,
Deputy Commissioner.

ZILA GOOJERAT:
Deputy Commissioner's Office,
The 19th January 1854.

No. 35 of 1854.

From

Captain G. E. Hollings,

Deputy Commissioner, Shahpoor,

To

E. Thornton, Esquire,

Comr. and Supdt., Jhelum Division.

Dated Shahpoor, 27th January 1854.

Sir,—I have the honor to inform you that, on receiving your letter No. 146, dated 7th November 1853, and No. 2545, dated 9th December, I directed the Tehseeldars in the Shahpoor district to furnish lists of the members of the different tribes who, in Major Birch's report, dated 21st January 1852, were said to have formerly practised female infanticide. I also forwarded copies of the agreements regarding the discontinuance in future of all unnecessary expenses of marriages entered into at Umritsur, with instructions to ascertain if the tribes generally would willingly enter into similar agreements, and, in the event of any important objection being made, they were to report.

On your arrival at Shahpoor you desired me to direct the Tehseeldars to come to Shahpoor bringing with them the chief traders of the tribes who had consented to and signed agreements to prevent the occurrence of female infanticide, and diminish the expenses of marriages.

The Tehseeldars arrived at Shahpoor on the 23rd, on which day I personally ascertained from the heads of the principal Mahomedan and Hindoo families that the practice of female infanticide had not obtained since the commencement of the British rule, that they considered the measures proposed for the suppression of the crime as a proof of kindness and consideration, as well as of the justice of their present rulers, for which they afford their sincere thanks. They affirmed their entire and hearty concurrence in the arrangements proposed for the reduction of the unnecessary expenses hitherto incurred on occasion of betrothal and marriage of their daughters, and their determination to act up to the spirit of the agreements, which they had signed in good faith and with a full knowledge of the obligations they had voluntarily taken upon themselves.

On the following day (Tuesday), the 24th January, when assembled for the purpose, they made the same acknowledgments in public and in your presence that they had previously made before me, and I need hardly add that there can be no doubt that they were sincere in their

expression of approval of the measures which had been adopted for their benefit. Copies of the agreements are enclosed.

From the last census that has been taken of the population, I find that there are of men, women, boys and girls, Mahomedans, 57,409; 40,466; 28,223; 22,654; Hindoos, 16,814; 13,843; 6,810; 5,280; which shows a nearly equal proportion ofthe sexes in the children of both sects, whilst the total number of children is in favor of the Mahomedans.

I had never had reason to doubt the correctness of the assertion that the crime of female infanticide has not been practised in this district since our rule commenced.

I need hardly add how gratified I was at finding that the people generally so well appreciate the wise and humane measures adopted by the British Government for the suppression of one of the most frightful crimes that ever disgraced the social customs of any human community. We have heard the men express their feelings of thankfulness and gratitude for the benefits conferred on them; who can describe the feelings of the mothers who have been saved from the dreadful trial they have hitherto been exposed to, in finding, after they had gone through the pains and danger of parturition, that they had given birth to a child which, according to the barbarous custom of their tribe, was to be immediately murdered.

I cannot avoid expressing an earnest hope that the people will not only most faithfully adhere to the agreements in the present instance, but that they will day by day more and more feel that the promotion of their real good is the object of the greatest importance to those who rule over them.

ZILA SHAHPOOR:
Deputy Commissioner's Office,
The 27th January 1854.

I have, &c.,
G. E. HOLLINGS,
Deputy Commissioner.

APPENDIX C.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS AT GOOJRANWALA.

No. 333 OF 1853.

From CHARLES RAIKES, ESQUIRE,
Commissioner and Superintendent,
Lahore Division,

To R. MONTGOMERY, ESQUIRE,
Judical Commissioner for the Punjab,
Lahore.

Dated Camp Shahpoor, 12th December 1853.

Judicial.

SIR,—I have the honor to forward herewith copy of a letter, No. 360, of 8th Current, from Major Clarke, Deputy Commissioner of Goojranwala, (together with my

reply to the same), detailing a meeting lately held at Goojranwala for the suppression of female infanticide.

2nd.—I feel satisfied that you will observe with interest and pleasure, the spirit in which your orders and wishes in this great work are being carried out by Major Clarke and the residents of his district.

3rd.—I trust that you will approve of the instructions given to the Deputy Commissioner in para. 4 of my letter to his address.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) C. RAIKES,

Commissioner and Superintendent.

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, LAHORE DIVISION :
The 12th December 1853.

From No. 360 OF 1853.

MAJOR JOHN CLARKE,

Deputy Commissioner, Goojranwala,

To

CHARLES RAIKES, ESQUIRE,

Commissioner and Superintendent,

Lahore Division.

Dated Camp Guker, 8th December 1853.

Judicial.

SIR,—I have the honor to report that agreeably to the permission accorded in your letter No. 260, dated 10th November 1853, I convened a meeting of the most influential and respectable inhabitants of my district at Goojranwala on the 5th Instant, for the purpose ofconsidering and arranging the details subsidiary to the general agreement executed at Umritsur, on the occasion of the grand meeting of the 29th and 31st October for the suppression of female infanticide, and the reduction of marriage expenses.

2nd.—Most of the Sirdars and Jageerdars came into Goojranwala the day before the meeting, and on the the forenoon of the 5th many of them,—among the members Sirdar Junda Sing, of Batalia, with his son and nephew, Dewan Huree Chund, of Eminabad, Goordut Sing, Chachee, Rae Mool Sing, of Goojranwala, &c., &c.,—assembled at my house, where the subject of the meeting was discussed ; all seemed to me desirous, nay anxious, to co-operate in its objects. A hope was expressed by some of the Sirdars that the police might be cautioned against a possible ill-judged interference on the

occasion of the natural death of new born babes, and I explained to them that all such interference was, and would still be, strictly prohibited, without the special order of the Deputy Commissioner or his Assistants.

3rd.—Shortly before 2 P.M. I left my residence in company with the Sirdars, and then, alighting, received them at the entrance of the street of tents pitched for the occasion : Mr. McAndrew, Assistant Commissioner, escorting them to their seats. This done, the Punches or heads of towns were brought in, then the headmen of villages followed from Tehseels respectively, seating themselves near the Punches of the towns of their Tehseels. Ingress was then allowed to all parties choosing to enter.

4th.—Three large tents were aligned, forming an admirable canopy, the floor of which was richly carpetted. Beneath this sat the European officers in the centre, supported by the Sirdars and native gentlemen on their right and left. The Sudur Omla were seated behind the European officers ; in front of, and laced on to, this canopy were extensive saeebans, beneath which sat all the municipal bodies and village authorities ; at right angles to the canopy were parallel lines of kunats, forming a street of 450 feet long, where the general body of spectators assembled. The entrance to this street had a tasteful portico or lodge ; the poles of the tents were festooned with flowers.

5th.—I opened the business of the meeting by a short address, stating, that the circumstances of the Umritsur meeting were well known to all the Sirdars and to such gentlemen as had attended it, but that some among the numbers assembled might like to hear an account of the same in detail, which was then read out by my Sheristadar, after which I myself read out the general agreement signed at that meeting, and having answered such questions as were put to me, I then, with my Assistants, Messrs. McAndrew and Berkeley, withdrew, to allow of unconstrained discussion, considering that to be according to the spirit of the meeting.

6th.—About 4 P. M., intimation being received that the parties had drawn up an agreement, I and my Assistants again repaired to the tents, where the agreement was presented to me. Looking upon this, as I do, in the light of a preliminary meeting, to be succeeded by another two or three years hence, I did not suggest any alterations. The agreement was then read out, and thoroughly explained in Punjabee to the Punches and Lumberdars, having been first read in Persian to the Sirdars and gentry.

I herewith transmit copy of the same, with signatures attached, together with English translation.

7th.—Baskets of fruits and flowers were then presented to each of the Sirdars, the kunats forming the streets were struck, and an exhibition of fireworks, previously prepared, took place, together with some

popular mythological impersonations. The Sirdars then took leave, and the assembly broke up. I suppose the number of persons within the kunats was about 1,750, and altogether that there were not fewer than 5,000 persons on the ground. No breach of the peace nor any other disturbance occurred.

8*th.*—I then repaired to the town, which was illuminated throughout, and the business of the day, so far as my share of it was concerned, closed.

9*th.*—I beg to mention that Dewan Huree Chund, who, as you are aware, holds a high office under Maharaja Goolab Sing, and whose daughter was married at Emeenabad just before the meeting, carried out the marriage ceremonial expenses strictly according to the spirit of the Umritsur agreement, and he stated, on my asking him confidentially, that he had expended Rs. 1,000. I think he is deserving of your commendation, as being the first man of standing in the district who has set the example desired.

10*th*—Rae Mool Sing, of Goojranwala, exerted himself to unite the conflicting views of the Sirdars and others, and I think him deserving of your commendation for the same.

11*th.*—My Nazir, Beharee Lal, made himself very useful in preparing the reception arrangements, which were excellent, and the credit of which is entirely due to him ; and I have no doubt that it would gratify him to receive a perwanah expressive of your satisfaction thereat.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. CLARKE,
Deputy Commissioner.

ZILA GOOJRANWALA DY. COMMR.'S OFFICE:
Camp Guker, the 8th December 1853.

TRANSLATION OF AGREEMENT.

THE Sirdars, heads of respectable families, Punches of towns, Lumberdars, Kutrees, and Zumeendars, inhabitants of Zila Goojranwala, having been summoned by the Deputy Commissioner, there met in general assembly, on Monday, the 5th of December 1853, to arrange for the suppression of female infanticide and reduction of marriage expenses, and having heard from the Deputy Commissioner's lips the general agreement entered into at the great meeting at Umritsur on the 31st October 1853, and then signed by the Sirdars and others, we hereby declare that we understand and heartily accept all its provisions, and, since it is proper to specify certain details, we hereby agree :—

Article 1.—Entirely to suppress the great sin of female infanticide, nor shall any one be allowed to practise it.

Article 2.—Marriage expenses shall range from 100 to 1,000 rupees, exclusive of any clothes or jewels given by way of dowry with the bride. No one shall have licence to exceed this limit, nor shall we exceed it, and the expenses of "Dhel," "Bhrahm Bhoj," "Bhajee biraduree," and "Kutha Charee," and "Dhyan" and other expenses shall all be included within the specified sums; and the custom of "Sat" and "Baruh" and expenses of Bhats and Meerasees shall be entirely discontinued.

Article 3.—No one shall accept any money for or on the betrothal of his daughter, for this is indeed a kind of selling into slavery, and after having once betrothed a child let no one withdraw from his agreement, for to do so is contrary to both the Hindoo and Mahomedan religion; but in case of any disease such as leprosy, or blindness, or paralysis, or idiocy, or impotency, afflicting a child, and proof thereof being given, then the betrothal shall be void.

Article 4.—After the celebration of marriage according to the rites of the Shaster and Shura, let no man or woman depart from his or her promise.

Article 5.—No one shall expend more on a marriage than his means warrant; and any person lending another money in excess of his probable means of payment shall receive no leniency on preferring his claim before a Civil tribunal for the recovery of the debt.

(Signed) Sirdar Junda Sing; Dewan Huree Chund; Sirdar Bood Sing, Man; Sirdar Kirpal Sing; Sirdar Deal Sing; Rae Mool Sing; Dewan Kurm Chund; Sirdar Goordut Sing, Mulwye; Jeet Sing, Koomadan; Pertab Sing, Mulwye; Davee Deal, Chopra; Ram Chund, Chopra; Bhaee Gyan Sing, Wuzeerabadeea; Kan Sing, of Ruriala; Jugut Sing, Man; Goordut Sing, Chachee; Bhaee Wuzeer Sing and 11 others.

All the Punches of Goojranwala, Wuzeerabad, Sadra, Ramnugur, Akalgurh, Eminabad and Hafizabad.

The Lumberdars of 44 of the most important villages of Goojranwala Tehseel; 24 Ramnugur; 27 Shekhoopoora; and 15 Hafizábád.

(Signed) JOHN CLARKE,

Deputy Commissioner.

Dated Monday, 5th December 1853.

No. 285 of 1853.

From

Charles Raikes, Esquire,

Commissioner and Superintendent,

Lahore Division,

To

Major J. Clarke,

Deputy Commissioner, Goojranwala.

Dated Camp Shahpoor, 12th December 1853.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge your letter No. 360, of 8th Current, describing the meeting of chiefs and other residents in your district, convened under your orders with the object of suppressing female infanticide.

Judicial.

2nd.—I have read the account of this important assembly with deep interest, and hasten to express my hearty approbation of the spirited manner in which you have thus carried forward and extended the objects of the great Umritsur meeting.

3rd.—I am satisfied that the feelings of satisfaction which I have now expressed, will be fully participated in by Mr. Montgomery, to whom a copy of your proceedings, together with the written engagement in the original, will be forwarded.

4th.—As I do not wish that your philanthropic efforts on such an occasion should be personally burdensome to you, or to other officers who may have united with you on the occasion, I request that you will send me a memorandum of the expenses incurred, to be charged in your judicial contingent bill.

5th.—I have much pleasure in enclosing khuts for Dewan Huree Chund, and Rae Mool Sing, and a perwana for Beharee Lal, Nazir.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) C. Raikes,

Commissioner and Superintendent.

Lahore, Commissioner's Office:
The 12th December 1853.

No. 2686.

From R. MONTGOMERY, ESQUIRE,
Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab,

To C. RAIKES, ESQUIRE,
Commissioner and Superintendent,
Lahore Division.

Dated Lahore, 24th December 1853.

Judicial. Criminal.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 333, dated 12th Instant, forwarding copy of a letter from Major Clarke, Deputy Commissioner of Goojranwala, with copy of your reply to him on the late meeting at Goojranwala for the suppression of female infanticide.

2nd.—Major Clarke deserves much credit for the manner in which he has so zealously followed up the great Umritsur meeting; and I feel sure it is from district meetings, undertaken in the spirit of that held at Goojranwala, that real good will result. I doubt not but that the effect will be most beneficial and be long remembered amongst the many benefits of Major Clarke's popular administration.

3rd.—I quite concur with you in the instructions issued in the 4th para. of your letter. The expenditure should more properly perhaps be defrayed from the Toshekhana account, and if you can defray the expenditure from your fund it will save some trouble in adjusting it hereafter.

4th.—Should there be any difficulty, however, the expenditure can be entered in the judicial contingent bill.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) R. MONTGOMERY,
Judicial Commissioner.

Lahore, the 24th December 1853.

No. 89 OF 1854.

From CHARLES RAIKES, ESQUIRE,
Commr. and Supdt., Lahore Division,

To R. MONTGOMERY, ESQUIRE,
Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab.

Camp Seealkote, 20th March 1854.

Judicial.

SIR,—In the last paragraph of your minute on infanticide in the Punjab, you expressed a desire that District Officers should, after the great meeting at Umritsur, hold local meetings with the object of encouraging the

people to fix certain and moderate sums for regulation of marriage expenses.

2nd.—I have already, in my letter No. 333, of 12th December last, placed before you the result of a meeting of this sort held at Goojranwala under the superintendence of the Deputy Commissioner, and have now the honor to submit an outline of our proceedings with the same object in the Seealkote district.

3rd.—On reaching the station of Seealkote I received an invitation from the Prince Runbeer Singh, son and heir-apparent of the Maharaja Goolab Singh, to unite with him in calling upon the Rajpoot and other tribes under the Kashmeer hills to suppress female infanticide and to regulate marriage expenses.

4th.—It appeared to me that a meeting of this sort would benefit the people of my division as much as those across the border, and, after consulting you, I agreed to meet the Prince on the frontier of his territories, at a village called Bhureeal, about fourteen miles from Seealkot and twelve from Jummo.

5th.—On reaching my camp on the 16th of this month the Prince called upon me, and at once entered upon the business of the meeting with earnestness.

6th.—He produced a scale of expenses for wedding occasions resembling those lately adopted at the great Umritsur meeting, but modified in certain points as his own experience suggested.

This scale he proposed to recommend to his own people, with any alterations which I might desire. Each detail in the list had evidently been carefully scrutinized by the Prince, with the object not only of diminishing the general extravagancies of weddings, but also of saddling the bridegroom's party with a fair share of the burden.

7th.—On the 16th and 17th the discussion of this scale was carried on. Eventually the zumeendars, chowdrees, and others assembled, belonging to the Seealkote district and to the Maharaja's territory, accepted the engagements detailed in the enclosure to this letter, of which it is enough now to say that they are reasonable and proper.

8th.—The solemn ratification of this agreement was made on the 17th.

9th.—A vast assemblage of the influential landholders from the district of Seealkote and from the adjoining Jumoo territory was congregated in the Durbar tents of the Prince.

Mr. Inglis, Deputy Commissioner of Seealkote, whom I cannot thank too cordially for his hearty assistance and co-operation, made admirable arrangements for preserving order, and, indeed, all his more influential subordinate officers, as well as the heads both of the agricultural and commercial communities of his district, to co-operate with the Jumoo authorities on the occasion.

When the parties most immediately interested were seated, I led the Prince into the assembly, accompanied by the Civil authorities of the Seealkote district, and several other officers and gentlemen who had expressed a desire to attend on the occasion.

After reading the order of the Most Noble the Governor-General,* and giving a short account of the proceedings at Mainpooree, Julundhur, Hoosheearpore and Umritsur for the suppression of excessive marriage expenditure and the putting down the odious crime of child-murder, I asked the people to accept and to ratify, in the presence of the Prince and the British officers there assembled, the engagements which so many of their brethren had undertaken. The response was hearty, and my own belief is that both Prince and people will unite in this great reform.

* See letters from Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India, No. 3894, dated 7th Septr. 1853, and No. 368, dated 1st Feby. 1854, to the Chief Commissioner.

The scene, when the multitude holding up their right hands, vowed to abandon their national crime, was impressive. Let us hope the impression will be deep and lasting.†

10*th.*—The Prince is, I believe, thoroughly in earnest, and his efforts to lessen the expenses of marriage ceremonies will probably be successful. The social reform which has already to my certain knowledge made real and substantial progress in our Punjab territories will extend to the Kashmeer mountains, and will be hailed with gratitude in every town and village. On this point the people at large, on either side of the border, feel alike; they rejoice at any excuse for shaking off a tyrannical custom which has hitherto plunged most families into debt. I could fortunately on this occasion point to the Máharája's confidential and wealthy Minister, Huree Chund, there present, who influenced by the Umritsur pledge, has just completed, at Lahore, the wedding ceremonies of his family, at the expense of Rs. 1,000 instead of Rs. 15,000, which he had spent three years ago on a similar occasion.

11*th.*—So much for the social reform as to marriage expenses; the further and greater end of preserving infant life will be almost attained when once it costs no more to maintain and settle a girl than a boy, and to this end all our labors are rapidly leading us in this part of the country.

12*th.*—I trust that I am not over-stepping the line of duty when I ask your approbation of the conduct of the Prince Runbeer Sing.

The call made upon me by him was one that I could not refuse. I have noticed with true pleasure the interest with which this personage has, ever since the publication of the Governor-General's proclamation and the Umritsur meeting, addressed himself to the task of put-

† Some 1,000 vernacular books and pamphlets, of sorts, having the object of exposing the social evils of profuse expenditure at weddings and the abominations of child-murder, were distributed on this occasion.

ting down female infanticide within his father's dominions. I find that he opened a register, some months back, in which the signatures of all his chiefs have been collected, to acknowledge the denunciations which he and his father the Maharaja have issued against this crime.

I further have learned that if I had not come to Seealkote the Prince had intended to have held a meeting at Purmundul, on the Bysakhee festival, with the same object as that which has just taken place at Bhureeal; and to prove further his sincerity, when I asked him to give up a cess* of Rs. 100 which had been hitherto levied on each wedding completed in his territories by persons resident in the British side of the border, he at once passed his word that from the day of the meeting the tax should be abolished. This promise he repeated to the assembled multitude on the day of the meeting.

* I have to thank Mr. E. A. Prinsep, Settlement Officer, for bringing to my notice this tax. His intimate local knowledge and influence over the agricultural classes in the Seealkote district proved very valuable on this occasion.

13*th.*—Under these circumstances I hope that you will move the Chief Commissioner to bring the conduct of the Prince Runbeer Sing to the favorable notice of the Most Noble the Governor-General.

I am convinced that a letter of approbation from his Lordship to the Prince, and to his father the Maharaja would be attended with the happiest consequences, and would encourage both to persevere in putting down the crimes and reforming the abuses of their people.

I have, &c.,

(Signed). CHARLES RAIKES,

Commissioner and Superintendent.

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
LAHORE DIVISION:
The 20th March 1854.

MEMORANDUM.

The subjoined translation of the Prince's own views and wishes is given to show the interest with which he has entered upon the reform of wedding expenditure amongst his subjects.

The result of my consultation with the Prince was as follows:—

It was determined to propose to the assembled tribes a scale of expenditure nearly resembling that originally adopted at Mainpooree and elsewhere, *viz.* :—

	Rs.
First-class marriages	500
Second do. do.	250
Third do. do.	100

This sum was to cover all expenses; the arrangement of the details was left to the people concerned. There was a reservation to the effect that Meeans related to the Maharaja of Jumoo, and receiving jageers or pensions of Rs. 5,000 per annum, should be limited to an expenditure of Rs. 1,200; and in the Seealkote district the people agreed not to exceed the scale given above, *viz.*, a maximum of Rs. 500, without consulting with the Deputy Commissioner.

As I have not yet received from Mr. Inglis the attested papers, I satisfy myself with thus giving the result of the conference.

(Signed) CHARLES RAIKES,

Commissioner and Superintendent.

Translation of the revised Scale proposed by His Highness Prince Runbeer Sing at the Infanticide Meeting at Bhureeal for the future regulation of Marriage Expenses in the Jumoo Territory.

The usual items of expense incurred in marriages will be taken up in the following clauses; categorically, the object of their outlay, the prevailing customs regarding them, the parties for and by whom they are incurred, will be briefly shown; attached to which will be specified the economical measures proposed by the Prince regarding the maintenance, modification or discontinuance of each incident.

First, as regards the celebration of a daughter's marriage, in which the whole expenditure devolves on the parents of the bride:—

1*st.*—It is usual, about a week before the wedding day to summon the relatives and acquaintances of the girl for the purpose of distributing "Bajee" or presents in the shape of cakes and sweatmeats. These cakes consist of three kinds:—

1*st.*—"Bura" or meat pies.

2*nd.*—"Mutee" or-oil cakes.

3*rd.*—"Goor," or raw sugar.

The first two are the most expensive, and weak-minded parents are constantly vying with their richer neighbours to exceed their means in the distribution of such confections.

Proposed, that their bestowal be simply confined to near relations, that the higher classes should alone give the "Bura" as being the most expensive, the middling classes to give oil-cakes, and the lower to confine themselves to common sugar.

2*nd.*—"Milnee," or congratulatory presents are offered on the part of the bride's parents to the father

Proposed, that the procession shall only consist of near relatives, the fewer

of the bridegroom. On the day of the marriage, the near relatives and friends collect together, form a small procession, and then proceed to some place of *rendezvous* to meet the near relations of the bridegroom, when a present of five rupees is generally offered to the latter; everybody is then fed at the expense of the bride's father.	the better, and that on this occasion, if the bride's father be of the higher classes, he shall only be expected to give rupees five, while all other classes should be restricted to an offering of one rupee.
3rd.—"Tumbol" is a token of courtesy, and consists of a "Turban," or some betelnut, or one rupee being given to the father of the bridegroom, when he comes to pay his respects to the parents of his bride on the day of the procession.	No alteration is necessary, as the outlay is very trifling, and the ceremony of honorable moment to all good Hindoos.
4th.—"Suneth" is the term applied to the numerous individuals who, at the request of the bride's father, are invited to fall into the procession. They march from the residence of the bridegroom to that of the bride, are often supplied with horses and conveyances, and the expenditure of feasting them all falls to the bride's father.	Proposed, that this expenditure be discouraged and declared as unnecessary.
5th.—"Jaam-Juneth," or feasting of the procession after arrival at the bride's house. In these hill tracts it is usual to entertain the whole procession, giving three meals a day.	It is recommended to limit the feasting to one meal a day, and that four annas per guest be allowed; this will reduce the expenditure to one-third.
6th.—"Lag Brahminan," or presents to Brahmins. It is the practice with the bride's father not only to fee his own Brahmin officials, but also theso of the bridegroom's family.	Proposed, that either party on occasion of marriage shall fee their own officials, thus relieving the father of the girl from an unjust outlay.
7th.—"Dahez," or parting presents to the bride, usually clothes and jewels constituting the "Studhun;" the former are called joras, or suits,	It is expected economy will be secured if in the place of costly suits of clothes the raw articles be given.

and sometimes as many as twenty or thirty suits are presented on parting.

" Thans," " Tookras," " Doputas," " Kínarasf," } all to be given as so many pieces. With regard to jewels, it is proposed that their bestowal be left to the discretion and means of the parents.

8th.—" Vidaie," or "Ruksutana," also parting presents, but given to the friends and relatives of the bridegroom, consist of turban and cloth stuffs usually.

Proposed, that this practice be abolished.

9th.—There appears to be a custom which demands that half the burdens of expenditure on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter's issue, (whether male or female), be borne by the grandfather; this practice seems to spring out of the operation of the Hindoo law of inheritance regarding such issue, and prevails everywhere.

Proposed, that this practice be disturbed by limiting the share of the expenditure on the part of the parents of the second degree to rupees fifty on occasion of the nuptials of female issue by their daughters, but to rupees twelve only in the case of male issue.

The lower orders to be restricted to any sum lower in amount, according to their means.

10th.—It was ruled at the Umritsur meeting that in cases where the bride's father should be poor and the bridegroom well-to-do, the option should be allowed to the latter of exceeding the scale of expenses proposed by the new rules.

The Prince approves of this liberal provision, and is ready to adopt it in his territories.

11th.—It was ruled at the Umritsur meeting that the practice of ridiculing those who were ready to carry out the new system of reduced expenditure should be severely noticed by the rest of the brotherhood; reproof, remonstrance, if unsuccessful, should be followed by excommunication from the clan or community to all such as commit this unmeaning offence.

The Prince approves of this clause, and is ready to give effect and encouragement to its prohibtion.

12*th.*—Sometimes a father has more than one daughter to dispose of in marriage ; circumstances, as debt, distress, or temporary adversity, happen to create on his part an inability to incur a similar range of expenditure in a subsequent with reference to a previous marriage.

To prevent unavailing dissatisfaction, and in order to cut off all inducement in weak-minded parents, it is proposed to publicly proclaim that parents in such cases have full discretion to expend any sums (*i e.,* as little as) they choose, and marked notice will be taken of parties who face this necessity.

13*th.*—No limit has ever been fixed to the period within which it should be incumbent on parents to arrange for the nuptials of their daughters; it is not uncommon to hear of instances where, from motives of avarice or pretended inability, daughters are left unprovided for up to the age of even 20 or 25.

Proposed, that it be announced that all good Hindoos should exert themselves towards achieving their daughters' marriages within the period of ten years.

Secondly.—As regards the celebration of a son's marriage, and the expenditure which devolves on the parents of the bridegroom.

1*st.*—"Dehal" and "Putun," or the distribution of money to all the resident Brahmins of a village, given by way of alms to the poor under the cloak of sanctity. The two terms denote two distinct practices, the one incurring a much greater expenditure than the other. The former distribution is regulated according to the number of individuals, the latter according to separate families or houses.

Proposed, that the "Dehal" shall be disallowed, and the latter alone acknowledged for the future ; the saving thus effected will stand in the relation of 20 to 5, or the ratio of individuals of a family to that of the family itself.

2*nd.*—"Dheean" is a kind of unlimited doling out of presents to the whole number of scattered daughters and grand-daughters connected by blood, be their residence in remote localities, and themselves absent from the wedding celebration.

An useless expenditure to be limited to simply the nearest ties, and only such as are resident and near to the scenes of festivity.

3*rd.*—" Bhats," "Meerasees," &c.,—compulsory alms-giving to every rascal and beggar and bard who come to de-

To be discontinued *in toto* for the future, and every discouragement to be shown to

mand it with insults and threats, whether during the procession or after.	such impudent ragamuffins and impostors.
4*th.*—Fireworks, &c., generally of every description, and sometimes large sums of money are expended even on such as are dangerous to lookers-on.	The expenditure to be left to the discretion of the parties, but the firing of rockets and bullets to be disallowed, as tending to disturb the peace and safety of the public.
5*th.*—"Soop," or sprinkling of money and small coin over the bridegroom first, and then over the sedan-chair of the bride, as they walk through any city or market-place. The coins drop down into the road and are greedily and noisily picked up by wayfarers and followers; the practice is a very unmeaning one, and often leads to quarrels, affrays, and mischievous railings.	Proposed, that the practice be entirely disallowed for the future not only in regard to the pocket of the parties conducting the marriage, but also with a view to prevent the disturbance of public peace.
6*th.*—Charitable gifts to faqueers, paupers, &c., after the completion of the marriage ceremony.	To be discouraged, except in instances of real distress and helplessness, such as to the blind, dumb, the lame, and the like.
7*th.*—It is the custom, previous to the wedding, for the father of the bridegroom, or some representative on his part, to consult with the father of the bride elect respecting the number of people he is willing to provide for on the procession. This practice is but reasonable when it is remembered that the latter has to pay all expenses of their conveyance and entertainment.	It is proposed that the soliciting party should always invite to the procession one-fifth less than what his new relative has been liberal enough to allow.
8*th.*—Lumberdars of villages and the police do not generally take part in these private festivals and processions.	The Prince is most anxious that these functionaries should invariably attend as a security against the infraction of his new injunctions.
9*th.*—Regarding the necessity of parents being careful to avoid going	The Prince is determined to warn all bankers from lending

into debt to celebrate their children's marriage. money for such purposes, as he is prepared never to restore to reckless creditors debts occasioned in this way.

(True copies.)

(Signed) W. J. RAYNOR.

No. 90.

From

D. F. McLEOD, ESQUIRE,

Commr. and Supdt., Trans-Sutlej States,

To

R. MONTGOMERY, ESQUIRE,

Judicial Commissioner, Lahore.

Dated Hoosheearpore, 15th April 1854.

Judicial.

SIR,—I have the honor to forward herewith a letter, No. 110, dated 6th Current, from Mr. Forsyth, Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Kangra, reporting a very important movement which has recently taken place in that district under his auspices, and is still in progress, and which, although extending to matters not included within the objects of the Umritsur meeting, is, nevertheless, undoubtedly closely connected with that meeting, and has sprung out of it.

2.—The main and fundamental feature of the scheme, which has been laid down generally by Mr. Forsyth, the details being filled up by the people themselves, more or less under the guidance, and with the aid of the district officials of different grades, and of their own chiefs, is, that in all matters connected with betrothals and marriages, and the social incidents connected therewith, a general supervision shall be exercised by punchayets of castes or tribes, selected by themselves, who shall keep a record of all such events, and be the referees and adjudicators, in the first instance, on all points connected therewith.

3.—This principle I regard as of the very first importance, and should the effort prove successful, I think the advantages likely to result from it can hardly be over-estimated. It is now very generally admitted that, notwithstanding the favor and renown to which the system of Indian punchayets attained under native rule, it has hitherto been a failure under ours. But I believe this to have arisen solely from its having been uncongenially and inappropriately applied, and removed by the operation of our laws, courts, and mode of administration generally from the influence and control of public opinion.

4.—Of all descriptions of punchayets, however, I have long been convinced that a caste or class punchayet is the one which is best, indeed I may say alone adapted, for general use under us. The intimate connection and intercourse which takes place between the members of a caste, trade or tribe renders it possible that the opinion or interests of its members generally can be deliberately sacrificed by punches of their own body without the latter being made keenly to feel the effects; so that the most powerful perhaps of all guarantees for the exercise of sound judgment and integrity exists in their case, which is wanting in that of punchayets promiscuously formed; and if there be any class of questions with which such punchayets appear especially adapted to deal, those which appertain to a matter so closely affecting the social well-being and respectability of the class as marriage and its consequences may surely be counted amongst the number.

5.—The only power of punishment or coercion which it is proposed at present to confer upon these punchayets is that of exclusion from social privileges; and I would observe, in connection with this point, that although some persons may, *primâ facie,* object to our doing anything which may be construed into recognizing the institution of caste, much less of encouraging its exclusiveness, it will be found, on a just discrimination, that the measure proposed cannot with propriety be thus characterised,—the sole object being to place individuals under the control of the general opinion of the section of the community to which they belong, however this may be constituted.

6.—Whether caste, tribe, occupation, religion, or other recognized distinctive distribution determine a class to which a person belongs will be immaterial for the present purpose; the adoption of that which is most acceptable to the people and best recognized amongst them being the sole object. Such distinctions, it will be admitted, must and do exist in all civilized countries in some form or other, and, wherever they do exist, exercise a very powerful social influence, being, in fact, the basis of all society.

7.—That this power will, for the present, be sufficient when recognized and supported by the local authorities, I feel little or no doubt. But this will necessarily be one of the principal points to be tested by the present experiment, and it will probably not be difficult hereafter to introduce, from time to time, such modifications or additions on this and other points as experience may shew to be required.

8.—A central, or pergunna punchayet, in addition to the class, village, or talooqa punches, will have to be appointed in each pergunna to act as a referee and controlling authority. This must be a mixed body; and it will, I think, be a matter of much interest to observe how it acts, though, as it will be a referee from bodies each of whom act under powerful restraints, and its operations will be confined to the limits of a pergunna within which all its members are familiarly known, I have myself but little fear for its integrity.

9.—The matters which it is proposed to place under the control of these punchayets are the following:—

First.—The prevention of betrothals based on sordid motives, or effected in the way of exchange.

Secondly.—The prevention of breaches of faith, when once a betrothal has been contracted and no valid grounds exist why it should not be carried out.

Thirdly.—To facilitate the re-marriage of widows, with the individuals of their own choice, a clause being added with a view to check or discourage the practice, as far as possible, of men having more than one wife.

10.—The above are the primary duties for which they have been organized; but to these a supplementary provision has been latterly added, *viz.*:—

Fourthly.—To keep a record of all expected births, actual births, and subsequent deaths of female children in every family of a tribe in which infanticide prevails, the members of which shall be required to observe the ceremony of alhwahan, or alhwansa, a ceremony which is already very generally observed by way of rejoicing on the completion of the eighth month of pregnancy.

11.—There are necessarily various details to be considered in connection with each and all of these subjects, but I do not think it necessary here to enter on them, as they are more or less fully discussed in the accompanying; and I regard the undertaking set on foot more in the light of an experiment, the results of which will hereafter facilitate legislation on such subjects as may appear to call for it, than as a scheme definitively determined upon and calling for sanction, or the reverse, as, whatever amount of personal influence Mr. Forsyth may have brought to bear upon it, the movement is ostensibly and avowedly a spontaneous one, well deserving, I think, of being left to itself for a while that it may stand the test of time.

12.—There are, however, a few remarks which I think it well to offer, which relate chiefly to the general principles involved.

13.—Mr. Forsyth, towards the close of the memorandum which accompanies his letter, adverts to the sentiments prevalent chiefly amongst Rajpoots; that the giving a daughter in marriage is a mark and acknowledgment of inferiority of race, and, although this is a matter with which legislation cannot well deal, and for the removal of which persuasion is the only means that can be employed with effect, there can be no doubt that it is a matter deserving of the gravest consideration, and of our most earnest efforts to bring about, if possible, a change in the feelings of the people regarding it.

14.—The ruinous outlay heretofore incurred in marriages has no doubt been one of the causes which has led to infanticide, and, as being the most tangible one, it was that most prominently insisted on at the Umritsur meeting, and in all the discussions connected therewith. But it is equally certain that a much more universal and powerful cause is to be found as respects the higher classes of Rajpoots, especially in the above most pernicious and unnatural sentiment, in so much that if those classes would but consent to adopt the maxim towards which very many most strongly incline, and which no legal or religious sanction forbids, that every class shall be considered entitled socially to receive wives from that to which it gives them, infanticide would in all probability shortly cease amongst them.

15.—Mr. Forsyth is, I think, somewhat too indiscriminate in the charge of sordidness in the matter of betrothals which he brings against the communities of the Kangra district generally; for it is a remarkable fact that in the hills more particularly, and throughout this division to a greater or less extent generally, society is in this respect divided into two great sections,—the higher, to whom daughters are a burden owing to the fancied degradation which they may impose or the expense attending their marriage; and the lower, to whom their possession is regarded as a prize, owing to the pecuniary or other advantages which may be derived from turning them to account.

16.—It is to this last section alone to whom the remarks to which I refer can properly apply; and although, I believe, Mr. Forsyth is in error in supposing that any definitive prohibition has as yet been issued against parents receiving a pecuniary consideration for the bestowal of their children, or guardians of their wards, his observations generally very correctly depict, in so far as I am competent to judge, the existing state of things in that district, resulting from the debased sentiments of the people at large on the subject of matrimony, and the uncongenial and somewhat uncertain operation of our courts of law. This state of things has long been a subject of solicitude and concern to our officers, and it cannot, I think, be denied that it is one calling for our best exertions to remedy it.

17.—It is for this section likewise that the first two propositions contained in the present scheme are intended, as also the third, which though distinct from the main object in view, is unquestionably one of much importance, as tending to discourage a multiplicity of wives, and to release widows from the thraldom of their deceased husband's relatives, which at present is productive of very great evils, and of questions extremely embarrassing to our courts. Under the first two heads it may be doubted whether some of the rules are not more stringent than the punches will be able to enforce, but for the reasons above given I would allow them a full and fair trial as drawn out by themselves.

18.—The supplementary provision, on the other hand, which is avowedly directed against the commission of infanticide, is intended

more especially for the higher sections of society. I have myself entertained considerable doubts whether it is altogether politic to invest the punches from the outset before they have been tried, and have found favor, with a duty which must necessarily be more or less invidious. As, however, Mr. Forsyth has found himself led on, notwithstanding the expression by me of these doubts, to adopt the rule by the emphatically expressed voice of a large part of the community, I have not thought it advisable to oppose it; and as the punch appointed for each tribe will be composed of leading persons of the tribe itself, its individual members cannot well take umbrage at their partial surveillance.

19.—It is a matter for thankfulness that however revolting and debasing the usages which *avarice, pride, priestly dominion,* or other causes may have introduced amongst a people, the germ of better things still remains, though latent, and the voice of conscience is prepared to make itself heard, where opportunity is afforded to it. Thus there can be no doubt that against all the evils which Mr. Forsyth has denounced in the accompanying paper, a very strong denunciatory feeling exists on the part of all the most sensible and reflecting part of the people, and that very many would rejoice to see them brought to an end.

20.—It is of this feeling that advantage has been taken in this movement as in the great meeting at Umritsur, and it appears to be an eminently wise policy for the ruling power thus to act, more particularly at the present critical period of the history of the Punjab, when the country generally feels itself to be undergoing a vast, but as yet understood, change, and is in consequence amenable, to an extent to which I have not elsewhere witnessed, to impulses derived from the authority placed over it.

21.—This question of matrimony, and the relative position of females is one on which probably more than any other the future social condition of our population and its development will depend; so that it is well deserving of being philosophically considered, while the phenomena attending it in India are of a very peculiar character, and difficult to analyse; and hence very great differences of opinion exist both as to facts and as the best way of dealing with them.

22.—It appears of to be nearly certain, from the statistics of population heretofore collected, that males are in excess of females in all parts of India, and amongst almost all classes, to whatever causes this may be attributable. But this disparity must, of course, be still greater where infanticide extensively prevails, as shewn by Mr. Bayley's statistical returns of the higher Rajpoot classes of the hills, forwarded with my letter, No. 542—26 B., dated 12th April 1853.

23.—Each higher class makes up the deficiency from those below it, partly by intermarrying with those considered of suitable rank, and partly by the purchase of concubines from those still lower in the scale. To this it is without doubt owing that the value of females in the lower

classes has become unnaturally enhanced, more especially in the hills. For owing either to the comeliness and gentleness of the latter, or to other causes, they have, for a long time past, been very generally sought after throughout the Julundhur Doab, and even more distant parts of the Punjab, so that they may be regarded as having been heretofore a recognised article of export to a very considerable extent, more especially from Mandee and Suket, which have enjoyed an universal notoriety in this respect.

24.—Hence it appears to me impossible to resist the conclusion that, opposite as are the vices of the upper and the lower sections of society in this particular, the latter are, in a very great measure, the result of the former, and that if the Rajpoots, Bedees, Khuttrees, and other classes, who have heretofore regarded their female children with disfavor, could be brought universally to cherish and preserve them, the inducements which at present exist amongst the lower orders to make traffic of them would in a great measure cease, so that both objects may appropriately form parts of one design, indeed must do so to render our efforts effectual.

25.—The only remaining remark of a general character which I think it necessary to offer has reference to the system of registry and record, which forms a main feature of Mr. Forsyth's scheme. It will no doubt be distasteful to some, but the principle is one the adoption of which I regard as highly expedient as well as just. In the proposed code for the Punjab the registration of betrothals was contemplated. In Europe the registry of marriages, as well of births and deaths, is enforced with increasing earnestness, not only for statistical but for legal purposes, so that its expediency may be regarded as yet more unquestionable, as it seems to me, in a country in which the system of early betrothals is universal, while in the absence of ecclesiastical or other establishments, which could be employed for keeping such registers, I can conceive no machinery more appropriate for the purpose than the punchayets which Mr. Forsyth has organized.

26.—This part of the scheme is therefore, in my opinion, in an especial manner deserving of official recognition and encouragement, and should these punchayets prove effective for the purpose now contemplated, I should be disposed hopefully to look to them for the germ of yet greater things.

27.—In conclusion, it seems hardly necessary, after what I have said above, that I should direct attention to the zeal, intelligence, energy and tact, as well as the philanthrophic spirit which Mr. Forsyth has evinced in projecting these arrangements and inducing the great mass of the people cheerfully to go along with him in maturing them. Whether their success prove complete or not, he is, in my opinion, entitled to very high commendation; and I sincerely trust that he may reap the yet higher reward of seeing a whole people progressing, as a result of

his exertions, towards something like a social regeneration, and responding to the benevolent efforts which he has initiated on their behalf.

28.—I would likewise second Mr. Forsyth's endeavours to secure your favorable consideration on behalf of Khushwaqt Rae, Extra-Assistant, Jaishee Ram, Tehseeldar of Noorpoor, and Rajah Jodbir Chund Kotock, the Jagheerdar Chief of Nadoun, for the strenuous and valuable aid which they have rendered in this matter, and, when myself on the point of leaving this division, I could not have had a more congenial task to fulfil than that of soliciting the approbation of Government for those who have taken a prominent part in a benevolent undertaking which I believe to be fraught with the germs of unmixed good.

COMMR.'S OFFICE, T. S. S.
Hoosheearpoor,
The 15*th April* 1854.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) D. F. MACLEOD,
Commr. and Supdt.

P.S.—I regret that my departure for Lahore has heretofore, from a mistake on my part, interfered with the despatch of this letter, and during this interval I have learnt with great regret the death of one of the individuals above commended, Khushwaqt Rae, Extra-Assistant, whose sudden removal will, I fear, prove a great loss to the Kangra district.

Hoosheearpoor,
The 11*th May* 1854.

(Signed) D. F. MACLEOD,
Commr. and Supdt., Trans-Sutlej States.

COPIES.—No. 110.

From

T. D. FORSYTH, ESQUIRE,

Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Kangra.

To

D. F. MACLEOD, ESQUIRE,

Commr. and Supdt., Trans-Sutlej States, Kangra.

Dated 6*th April* 1854.

Judicial.

SIR,—With reference to your letter, No. 59, dated 11th January last, it is scarcely necessary for me to announce to you the fact of the adoption by the people of Kangra of an entirely new system of betrothals, as the various stages of my proceedings have received your demi-official approbation.

2.—As the subject, however, is important, I have ventured to draw up for your information a separate paper detailing the successive events which have led to this praiseworthy reform.

3.—In this letter I need not, therefore, discuss the subject further, but I wish to bring to your favorable notice the active and very able assistance rendered by Rae Khushwaqt Rae, Extra-Assistant, and Jaishee Ram, Tehseeldar of Noorpoor. To their judgment, energy, and influence with the people a great share of the success of these measures is attributable: Rajah Jodbir Chund has, in the Nadoun district, been no less active; and to each of these persons I trust that some suitable acknowledgment of their important services may be made.

DEPUTY COMMR.'S OFFICE,
Trans-Sutlej Division, Zillah Kangra,
The 6*th April* 1854.

I have, &c.,
(Signed.) T. D. FORSYTH,
Offg. Deputy Commissioner.

MEMO.

THE inhabitants of the hilly districts of this Doab present in their general character and customs a pleasing contrast to their fellow-countrymen of the plains, but on the subject of betrothals and marriages they not only suffer in the comparison, but, by an inconsistency, as strange as unaccountable, they appear to have become utterly reckless of all proper feeling, and by their faithlessness to their engagements and laxity of principle have well-nigh forfeited all claim to the respect which their general honesty of character would entitle them to.

It is ordained in the Shastras, and has been accepted as universal law in Hindoostan, that when a betrothal betwixt any two parties takes place, the usual gifts prescribed by custom shall be interchanged, and ornaments, according to the caste and means of the parties, shall be given, but beyond this no presents are allowed. The mention of such a thing would be universally scouted. The heaviest share, too, of the expenses of a marriage fall on the father of a bride. In these hills exactly the opposite custom has obtained. A young girl is made the subject of a commercial speculation, and is as liable to enhancement, or depreciation in value, as any other commodity exposed in the market.

How the custom arose, or who first tempted the people to err from the paths of rectitude, it is useless now to enquire; the fact is lamentable but undoubted, that with but few exceptions it is the habit of this people, high and low, to barter or sell their female relatives. Having once allowed the love of gain to overcome their respect for the dearest of all domestic ties, it is easy to conceive to what lengths the cravings of avarice would induce its wretched slave to proceed.

In its mildest form, and what is most frequently the case here, a man who has a marriageable daughter agrees with his neighbour to effect an intermarriage, he receiving in return for his girl a bride for one of his own family, or taking an equivalent in goods or gold.

Should, however, as is too often the case, the man insist on receiving a bride in exchange, and the party seeking the alliance is unable to furnish one from his own family, he goes forth to a friend or relation, and with, or through him, arranges to provide a girl, who shall be made over in exchange to the father of the bride.

In this way a link of connection is established, extending very often to as many as five and six parties, all of whom are liable to be placed in a false position by the faithlessness of any one of their member.

Faithlessness is the rule rather than the exception, and the returns of our courts will shew what a vast number of cases of breach of promise of marriage are annually brought to our courts for decision.

This peculiar feature, in the character of the people, only attracted the attention of the district authorities on the annexation of the Julundhur Doab to our dominions. Mr. Barnes, lamenting the evils of system, says in his Report on the Civil Administration for 1849:—"This custom is severely reprobated in the Shastras, and the people know it to be wrong; but it has grown up to be a second nature, and is now irremediable. In former times a man, dying without heirs, and holding a claim for a "natha," or bride, the natha was regularly entered in the inventory of the deceased's effects. I knew a case of the Sikh incumbency, where a man, possessing a natha, absconded in arrears of revenue to the State. His natha was brought to auction like any other appreciable commodity, and sold to the highest bidder."

Again—"A man will affiance his daughter for Rs. 50 and bind the compact with all the usual ceremonies attending betrothal. A year or two after he will deliberately violate his contract, and marry his own daughter to another suitor for Rs. 100, or he will obtain a bride by promising to give one of his own family in exchange, and, after completing his own nuptials, will coolly refuse to perform his part of the contract."

Numberless other instances of fiducial turpitude might be produced, but the above will suffice.

The question which arose was, how such cases should be dealt with. By our laws, which make marriage entirely a civil contract, any breach of such engagements could only be sued for in a civil court. But in the days of the native supremacy the mild award of pecuniary damages was but seldom resorted to; when any expectant bridegroom found himself disappointed of his betrothed, he did not quietly submit to see her made the wife of another. He enlisted a band of stout

companions, and, forcibly attacking his recusant father-in-law's house, would carry off his lawful *fiancée* in triumph. Frequently, too, the Kárdár interposed, and, sending for the girl from her father's house, had the nuptial knot tied in his own presence.

To offer then the salve of a pecuniary compensation to the wounded honor of a jilted bridegroom was not, at the beginning of our reign, a rule to be too strictly enforced.

In certain cases Mr. Barnes found that, on political grounds, and in order not to alarm the people by a total overthrow of their ancient customs, it was necessary to be guided by the habits of the people, and by applying all the force of a legal tribunal to execute the decision of a respectable jury to prevent the recourse to lawless violence.

But though this class of cases was dealt with with all the careful discrimination and tact which a person of Mr. Barnes' talent and experience could bring to bear, he himself was the first to acknowledge that some more decisive and radical measures ought to be introduced. His measures were punitory, not preventive, and, though worked with tolerable success by himself, they were dangerous engines in the hands of hasty or inexperienced officers.

Mr. Bayley, on succeeding to Mr. Barnes' charge of the district, at once proceeded to grapple with this important subject. He saw the evil, but at that time there was little hope of persuading the people to co-operate in his endeavours for their amelioration. He proposed, and Mr. Barnes agreed, that a set of five rules, as follows, should be introduced:—

First.—A standard price for each caste, to be fixed according to ancient usage, modified by existing circumstances.

Second.—Postponement of the ceremony of betrothals until the girl is six or seven years old.

Third.—The completion of marriage within three years from date of betrothal.

Fourth.—The payment of only one-fourth of the stipulated sum before marriage, and the payment of the other three-fourths on the day or day preceding the bayah.

Fifth.—The imposition of some penal exclusion from caste, limited in duration of time according to the flagrancy of the offence, for every wilful departure from betrothal engagement.

Circumstances prevented the promulgation of these rules; but an order was published by the late Board of Administration that all breaches of promise to marry were to be considered most strictly civil cases; and not only were such marriages never to be enforced by order of the court, but damages were not to be awarded, unless specially applied for by the aggrieved party, and then only the sum sued for, without any addition by way of fine, was to be decreed.

This order was speedily followed up by another, ordering district officers to punish criminally all parties who were found to have bartered or sold their wives or children for pecuniary consideration.

These two orders struck a death-blow to the old régime of our civil courts in "natha" questions, and rendered nearly every inhabitant of these hills liable to a criminal prosecution for adopting the marriage rites which had been sanctioned by ancient usage.

These orders were issued in 1852, and for the space of two years that they have been in force the civil courts in the Kangra district have been placed in an anomalous position. The most flagrant cases of infidelity and treachery have come within their cognizance. The grossest turpitude and most barefaced disregard of all moral and actual engagements have been proved; but, because the parties aggrieved have refused to receive a compensation in money, the offender has been enabled to escape with impunity.

Such a state of things could not long last; whilst the people were in doubt and perplexity how to act, the grand meeting at Umritsur was held to determine the best means for the prevention of infanticide, and the better arrangement of the social rite of marriage.

The proceedings of that meeting were looked for with anxiety, and the result of the conference has been to unhinge, to an unexpected degree, the prejudices and pride of the straight-laced Hindoos. They have seen practically that Government has laid aside, for the time, the stern garb of a ruler, and has condescended, as a friend and adviser, to consult with the people in the matters which are nearest their own hearts. It has made itself one of themselves by entering into their families and their homes, and taking the initiative in proposing measures for the establishment, on a more enlightened and honorable footing, of their various social and domestic relations.

But they are also fully alive to the fact that Government is in earnest in all its actions, and know that they are expected to exert themselves.

Next in importance to infanticide, the primary object of the meeting, and far more universally affecting the populace, is the consideration of these "nathas," and how they are to be dealt with.

The opportunity seemed favorable for proposing to the more respectable of the people what appeared to be the simplest and most effectual way of applying a radical cure to this extensive evil.

The proposal was that the people should with one consent renounce at once and for ever the present system of betrothals, and adopt in its place the customs and rites ordained by the Shastras.

Nothing short of this appeared to be practicable; any half measures of low rates of marriage money, or imposing restrictions on the exchange of brides, would effect but little. As long as there was a door

left open, be it ever so narrow, to the entrance of sordid motives it would soon be forced open to its fullest extent by the greedy demands of the avaricious.

All minor details were a matter of comparative unimportance compared with this one grand question, and to secure its full consideration required the united efforts of the officials, both Native and European, backed up by the cordial co-operation of a few of the more respectable inhabitants of the district.

It is a pleasing duty to record a sense of important services rendered, and the people have just reason to be grateful for the exertions of Rae Khushwaqt Rae, the Extra-Assistant of Kangra, and Jaishee Ram, Tehseeldar of Noorpoor, who, with the best interests of the people at heart, devoted themselves to work this reform in the customs of their follow-countrymen.

In conjunction with these two, endeavours were made to ascertain the feelings of the people, and for this purpose a set of propositions was issued to the rajahs and heads of communities for their opinion and advice. These were :—

First.—That the present system of taking money or other consider ation for a daughter when given in marriage, or of exchanging brides, or betrothing offspring before they are born be entirely discontinued.

Second.—That the present rates of betrothal be revised according, to the rule laid down in the Shastras.

Third.—That all betrothals shall be witnessed by a punchayetl who shall place on record the terms of the betrothal.

Fourth.—That a certain period, in the life of the children for betrothals and marriages to be made, shall be fixed.

Fifth.—All questions of disputed betrothals shall be decided by the punchayet of each caste.

Sixth.—Punishment by exclusion of caste to be inflicted on al recusant parties.

Seventh.—A list of all existing betrothals to be drawn up and presented to the punchayets for their decision, care being taken by them to interfere, as little as possible, with byegone transactions.

These propositions were promulgated early in January, and the opinions of all classes were freely invited. Finding the popular voice to be strongly in favor of the tenor of these, meetings were appointed to be held at Kangra, Noorpoor, and Nadoun, and at these preliminary documents were drawn up by a few persons of each caste, which were again promulgated for further criticism.

At the Kangra meeting some objected to the 3rd proposition, as being contrary to their custom; but when the undoubted advantage

of such a document was explained to them they withdrew their dissent. From Noorpoor Jaishee Ram sent some very valuable proposals, which had been suggested to him by the people. At Nadoun Rajah Jodbir Chund exerted himself with most praiseworthy zeal to induce the people to imitate the example of their Kangra and Noorpoor brethren.

At last, after the question had been fairly sifted, and the people had been allowed a space of six weeks to talk over it in their village assemblies the various points of this new system which was to introduce such a change in their domestic rites, there seemed to be no necessity for any further delay in calling on the people to give a formal assent to the provisions of their agreement.

Meetings, therefore, were convened at Nadoun on the 11th, at Kangra on the 17th, and at Noorpoor on the 22nd March, and other places on various dates, where all the inhabitants of the different purgunahs, in presence of the district officers or the Rajahs (where meetings were held in their jageers), ratified in a solemn manner the agreement, which is given in detail at the end of this paper.

It may, perhaps, be necessary to say a few words on some of the clauses of this agreement.

The evils of the system renounced in the 1st clause are acknowledged by all, but objections have been raised to the expediency of doing away all at once with the pecuniary value of a bride, on the plea that infanticide is more likely to be prevented so long as a man finds that his daughter is valuable in a mercenary point of view.

But this argument surely is false, and not one that an enlightened Government could condescend to adopt. A meeting has just been held at Umritsur to repress the crime of infanticide, and stringent measures for its suppression are being adopted. These, if properly carried out, ought to require no such fictitious aid as that derived from the appeal to a sordid passion, and it would not appear that such motives had exercised an influence in saving the lives of female children, else why the necessity of convening a meeting to suppress infanticide?

But in reality the class of people who sacrifice their daughters are those least affected by this clause; for they never take any pecuniary consideration for their daughters. The lower classes, who adopt this custom, would not, under any circumstances, destroy their female children, for they would always find use for them in the cultivation of their fields.

For these people it is argued that their use in thus cultivating the fields will prove a great hindrance to their marriage; and a father who finds that he can get no equivalent for his daughter will be loath to part with her services.

But as a general rule the argument will apply either way. If a man gives away his daughter in marriage without any equivalent, he has also, at a previous period, obtained his wife free of all cost. Formerly the savings of a whole life time were expended on a man's marriage, and this sum, with the interest, would be hardly recovered by the subsequent marriages of any daughters who might be the fruit of his union. At all events this objection has not been raised by the people themselves, all of whom rejoice at the subversion of the old custom.

The advantage of a system of registration is too apparent to need any remarks, and even Brahmins and Rajpoots, who were at first averse to such a rule as being disgraceful, now admit the expediency of its adoption.

The second great object of these rules is to employ, as much as possible, the agency of the people. It must be altogether a false state of things when the most domestic arrangements of a people have to be regulated by the arm of the law, and the frequent appeals to our courts and the very contradictory decisions which must necessarily have been given from time to time, show plainly the absence of a healthy system.

It may be argued that it is dangerous to place such power in the hands of a caste punchayet; but if properly watched, no great evils can arise. The greatest circumspection, however, must be exercised, and all the tact and energy of the district officer, with an intimate knowledge of their customs, will be necessary to ensure the success of his new régime. There is a difference of opinion as to the constitution of the punchayet, whether it should be composed of members of each caste, or a mixture of castes in each village. Both are being given a fair trial in the different parts of the district, and to whichever a decided preference is given, at the end or six months' or a year's trial, can be universally adopted.

In clause No. 22 an attempt has been made to ameliorate the condition of the widows. At present these provisions only apply to the widows of the middle and lower classes as the Rajpoots and Brahmins will not yet consent to allow their women any liberty. But for the other classes, this is a most important provision. A large proportion of the cases, which come into Court, where women are concerned, originate in the refusal of a widow to live with her brother-in-law, and I have invariably observed that no persuasion, short of actual force, will keep a woman in her deceased husband's family; clandestine amours, or open desertion to a more favored individual, is the almost invariable rule of conduct.

Where this is so prevalent, the custom itself must be faulty. The brother-in-law has no feelings of affection for his sister. He merely wishes to secure her services in the household, and the condition of every widow, in her husband's family, is nothing better than that of a

hard-worked slave. Should she be looked upon with favor by the brother-in-law, she can never hope to escape the relentless spite of his neglected wife.

Under these new rules the widow will be placed in a proper position. She is free to marry again, and within certain limits to choose a husband for herself. By this means not only is a proper line of conduct consistent with reason allowed to the woman, but our courts will be relieved of a vast number of cases, to decide which according to the vicious custom of the country involves a departure from the rules of sound equity; for the system, and not the individual, was really at fault. On the other hand, the husband's family cannot complain of the loss of services, as they are reimbursed by the original expenses of the marriage. This clause has not been universally adopted, but it is agreed to in Nadoun and Kangra, and, if it find favor with the people, it will soon be generally adhered to.

At the Umritsur meeting the heads of communities signified their determination to put a stop to the crime of infanticide, but no detailed measures for effecting this were then adopted. The provisions of the supplementary agreement have been framed with a view to preserving, as far as possible, the sacredness of *Rajpoots*' purdah, consistent with the far more important necessity of securing the lives of their female children.

In this matter the agency of the caste or village punchayets may be employed with eminent advantage. No reasonable objection can be raised by the Rajpoot to entering in a register the fact of the pregnancy of their wives, for it is a custom with most classes for rejoicings and a distribution of sweetmeats to be made on the completion of the eighth month of pregnancy.

The placing on record the fact is an important point, and will facilitate subsequent enquiries. On the birth of a child, if a boy, a simple entry to that effect in the punchayet's book will be quite sufficient. If a girl, the state of the baby, whether healthy or weakly, should be carefully entered. In the event of death, it is not intended to harass the family by vexatious enquiries through the police. The punchayet should exercise their discretion as to the advisability of an investigation as to the cause of death; but if it can be established on enquiry that they have sided with a Rajpoot in concealing infanticide, they should be punished severely.

It may be argued that the dread of this responsibility may, too frequently, induce the punchayet to report for enquiry cases which at first sight appear doubtful but on a further investigation are proved to be above suspicion. But to prevent too precipitate an official enquiry the case should first be referred to the Suddur punchayet, who will as certain whether there are *prima facie* grounds for police interference.

Such are the measures proposed for enforcing the provisions of the Umritsur conference. But the preservation of these female infants must be looked for in another, and very important, measure. The Rajpoots, while lamenting the inhuman barbarity of infanticide, have confessed that the great obstacle to an improvement has been the severe restrictions, which bind the limits of intermarriage; ancestral pride, carried to a refined degree, has brought a Rajpoot to consider it an acknowledgment of inferiority to give his daughter in marriage to a neighbouring clan; and rather than submit to such degradation, he resorted to the crime of murder. They, however, see the impolicy, and perhaps they confess the sinfulness, of such proceedings, and are now inclined to adopt a more rational policy which, by enlarging the circle of matrimony, will remove all excuse for infanticide on the plea that husbands cannot be found for their daughters.

In thus giving a detail of the new measures adopted, it is not intended to represent, as accomplished, a work which, in truth, has only begun. A movement towards improvement has been made, but time alone, and the most careful supervision by the district officers, will establish and mature the new system.

With nations, as with individuals, reform is not the work of a day. In too many instances the force of long-cherished habit will be sufficient to counteract the desire for amelioration. But the current of general *opinion*, which has for centuries flowed in a wrong direction, has at last been arrested, and its course has been directed into a more healthy channel. As it progresses in its flow, it will acquire additional force, and will finally be strong enough to bear down all opposition.

Individual instances of inveterate faithlessness will no doubt again and again occur to be dealt with by our courts, but they will be but the flickerings of an expiring flame. By the one united effort of the people the stigma of ages has been removed from the district of Kangra, and the era of faithlessness in nuptial engagements may be considered to have passed away with the system which give scope to the exercise of the most sordid of passions.

(Signed.) T. D. FORSYTH,
Offg. Deputy Commissioner.

AGREEMENT.

WE the undersigned Brahmins, Rajpoots, Khutrees and all other castes, resident in the district of Kangra, being fully convinced of the evils which attend our present system of betrothals and marriages, have, with one consent, determined to adopt the following rules:—

1*st.*—The practice of taking and giving our daughters in marriage for a pecuniary consideration, or in exchange (batta), or of contracting

marriages for future offspring before they are born, shall be henceforth entirely discontinued.

2nd.—The custom of "Ghar Jewatri," by which a husband serves for a certain period in the house of his father-in-law previous to obtaining a wife in marriage, shall be discontinued.

3rd.—To avoid any temptation to the indulgence of sordid feelings in betrothal, it is decided that should a person who is without male heirs wish to bequeath his property to his daughter, or son-in-law, he shall not do so until after the marriage has been completed. Also the custom which is frequently followed of a debtor betrothing his daughter to his creditor, in lieu of payment of the debt, is henceforth prohibited.

4th.—In the separate agreement which is drawn up by each caste are detailed the ceremonies to be observed at the time of betrothal; and we bind ourselves to adhere strictly to the rules laid down.

5th.—On contracting a betrothal, we agree that a written document shall be executed by the parents or other guardians of both parties, and shall be attested by two witnesses in the presence of the punchayet (regarding whom rules are framed in succeeding clauses) and a copy of this document shall be kept by the punchayet, who shall enter it into a book, and shall furnish an abstract of this register to the purgunah punchayet twice a year.

6th.—When the ceremonies prescribed in clauses 4 and 5 have been completed, the betrothal shall be considered final and binding.

7th.—The only causes which shall be valid for annulling a betrothal are as follows:—

1st.—Incurable blindness.

2nd—Epilepsy and leprosy, insanity or incurable disease.

3rd.—Cohabiting with low-caste people, or associating intimately with such, or until properly purified.

4th.—Breach of caste.

5th.—Drunken habits.

6th.—Impotency.

7th.—Bad character, gambling, or excessive profligacy of any kind.

8th.—On the death of either of the parties betrothed, no claim whatever shall remain to either party.

9th.—We advise, and will generally arrange, that betrothals shall be contracted between a youth of 22 years and a girl under 11 years; or, in other words, that a girl shall be married to a youth double her age, as prescribed by the Shastras. But no restrictions are laid on older men, or a widower, from marrying a woman of any age. The betrothal should not take place before the girl is 5 years old, and the

marriage should be completed betwixt the ages of 7 and 11. Circumstances may delay the marriage till the girl is 14 years old; and with Rajpoots, who are generally absent on service, till a later period, but, as a general rule, and unless sanctioned by the punchayet, if the man neglects to marry his betrothed by the age of 14, her parents may espouse her elsewhere.

10*th*.—The betrothal shall be contracted by the father of the girl, if he be alive; if not, then by the next male heir; and if none, then by the mother in consultation with the relatives of the household. A betrothal made by a woman alone for her daughter shall not be valid.

11*th*.—In the event of the father having betrothed his daughter, and the mother giving her away elsewhere, she and the parties with whom the betrothal is made shall be punished by exclusion from caste. No boy's father shall contract a marriage except with the girl's father, as prescribed in clause 10.

12*th*.—The rules regarding the marriage expenses, as established at the Umritsur meeting, shall be strictly adhered to.

13*th*.—Whoever will not abide by these rules, or shall destroy the decision of the punchayet, shall be excluded from caste; and if any one side with such person he also shall be excluded from caste; such exclusion to last until the recusant parties signify their assent to the decision.

14*th*.—The punchayets are established for each caste, and in the separate agreements are entered the names of the jurors selected. They shall decide all disputes in the first instance, and an appeal shall lie from their decision to a purgunnah or talooqua punchayet, also appointed in the separate agreements. An appeal from the punchayet can be preferred to the courts of law.

15*th*.—In the separate agreements are entered the names of the talooqua punchayets.

16*th*.—In the decision of all existing betrothals a register of all such shall be drawn up by the punchayet of each caste:—

FORM OF REGISTER.

No.	Names of parties with parentage.	Year in which betrothed.	When to be married.	What agreements were made at the time of betrothal.

This register to be kept by the punchayet, and a copy to be filed in the Suddur or Tehseel Office.

17*th*.—The following rules are to be observed in deciding cases of disputed betrothals:—*First*, if all the provisions of the espousals have

been complied with, the punchayet shall order that the marriage be consummated. Recusancy to be punished by exclusion from caste. *Second*, if the preliminary arrangements have been entered into, but the betrothal has not been confirmed by the usual rites, it shall be optional with the punchayet to enforce the marriage or not; but, if they do so, they will make it a "dhurm natha," and will not allow any pecuniary consideration, or even exchange of betrothals.

18th.—When betrothals hitherto made for pecuniary considerations are brought before the punchayet, they shall content themselves with enforcing the marriage, and shall not, on the one hand, order the money to be returned, nor, if any balance is still due, shall they allow it to be paid.

19th.—If exchange betrothals have been arranged, and the marriage of one party has been completed, the other party shall be compelled to fulfil his contract likewise. When, however, neither party has been married, it shall be optional with the punchayet to award the marriage or not. In no case, however, where either of the betrothed girls die, will this be considered a plea for allowing the other party to refuse to fulfil his engagement.

20th.—If any person has advanced money on the promise of obtaining a wife, and the betrothal has not been completed, the punchayet will not allow the betrothal to take place, but will order the repayment of the sum with interest.

21st.—If a man wishes to marry a second wife, he shall state the fact of the existence of his first one before the punchayet, who shall make an entry to that effect in the register. Should he neglect to do so, and the other party ascertain the truth, it shall be ground for breaking off the alliance.

22nd.—It is generally advisable, according to our customs, that widows shall reside in the father-in-law's family, and if they marry again they ought to take their younger brother-in-law; but should the widow have any objection to marry him, and should prefer any one else of the same caste, she is at liberty to marry him; but in such case the family of the deceased husband will have a claim to recover from the second husband all the expenses of the former marriage.

In connection with the preceding agreement a supplementary set of rules for the better enforcement of the provisions of the Umritsur meeting on the subject of infanticide is drawn up:

First.—The punchayet in each village which is empannelled to enquire into "natha" cases shall also be employed to carry out the following rules:—

Second.—They shall make themselves acquainted with the births and deaths in every Rajpoot or other family where infanticide has been or is likely to be, practised.

Third.—To assist them in obtaining the necessary information, two or more respectable midwives shall be nominated whose business it will be to report the fact of a birth, or the pregnancy of a woman in any of these families.

Fourth.—The custom of athwahan, or athwansa, when sweatmeats are distributed and rejoicings made, on the completion of the eighth month of woman's pregnancy, is generally but not always adopted. Henceforth it shall be always observed, and the punchayet shall be informed.

Fifth.—On receiving information of the pregnancy,—athwahan,—or before, the punchayet shall make an entry in their register, writing down the probable date of the birth, at which period they shall be on the alert.

Sixth.—The report of the birth of a child shall be immediately made to the punchayet, who shall note down in the book the sex, and one of the number shall personally satisfy himself of the fact, and if a girl the parents should be admonished of the necessity of preserving her life.

Seventh.—In the event of all intelligence being properly given, there will be no cause for the interference of the punchayet. But in the event of a woman's pregnancy being reported, and not the birth, or of the child's dying at or immediately after birth, or in fact at any time till its betrothal, the punchayet shall assemble, and if necessary, calling in the assistance of the "Bhaees" and other respectable person, shall institute an enquiry; should there be no ground whatever for suspicion as to the cause of death, the fact should be reported to the Tehseel. If on subsequent investigation the report of the punchayet is proved to be fabricated, they will be held answerable.

Eighth.—If the punchayet have grounds for suspicion, or are doubtful in any matter, they shall at once refer to the talooqua punchayet, who will forthwith assemble and pursue a rigid enquiry, and the result if satisfactory, should be forwarded in form of an urzee, signed by all the members, to the Tehseeldar who will not make any further investigation.

Ninth.—Should the two punchayets represent the case as suspicious to the Tehseeldar, he shall at once proceed in person to the spot and examine into the case, forwarding the corpse to the Suddur station for examination.

Tenth.—The greatest care shall be enjoined on the punchayets and Government officials to see that the sanctity of a Rajpoot's privacy shall not be interfered with, and any breach of this will be animadverted upon by the authorities.

Eleventh.—Should the punchayet find that any persons have concealed from their knowledge the fact of a pregnancy or birth, or

have perverted facts, they shall not punish the parties themselves, but shall report the matter to the Tehseeldar, who will decide the case on its merits, awarding a suitable punishment.

Twelfth.—The register, which shall be kept by the punchayet, shall be well bound and kept in a regular form hereafter prescribed. The punchayet shall make each entry at the time of receiving the information. The importance of this point is to be impressed upon all.

FORM OF REGISTER.

No.	Date of report of pregnancy	Probable date of birth.	Actual date of birth.	Sex.	If a girl, whether healthy or weakly.	Signature of parent or guardian.	In case of death, summary of investigation, with date of decease.

A copy of this shall be given to the putwaries, and the Tehseeldars and district officers will see that these registers are properly kept up.

(Signed.) T. D. FORSYTH,
Offg. Deputy Commissioner.